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Institutional complexity and the construction of collective action in nonprofit fields

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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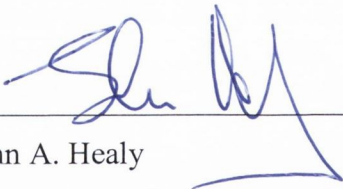
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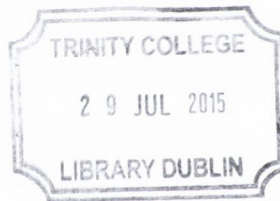
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Summary

This dissertation contributes to our understanding of how institutional complexity within fields influences efforts to construct interorganisational collective action. Five cases of efforts to construct collective action in two nonprofit fields are studied. One field is in the Republic of Ireland and the other in South Africa. The institutional logics salient in each field are derived using inductive methods and the processes of how these institutional logics influence the five efforts to construct collective action are analysed. A social constructionist epistemology is adopted and the interpretations and frames of actors are closely studied to both understand the prevailing institutional logics and to illuminate how these logics influence interactions. The role of a philanthropic foundation which sought to encourage greater interorganisational collective action is also studied.

The thesis finds that institutional logics can be sources of ideological enchantment but also ambiguity for individuals in institutionally complex fields. The major contribution of this dissertation is the development of a theoretical model showing how institutional complexity influences efforts to construct collective action. The study finds that individuals are influenced simultaneously by multiple institutional logics in institutionally complex fields. The creation and tolerance of this ambiguity play a central role in enabling collective action to be temporarily constructed across different institutional logics. The outcomes of the efforts to construct collective action in institutionally complex fields varied between temporary alignments and segmentation into smaller groups with similar institutional logics. The study finds that philanthropic foundations can be highly influential in terms of convening actors but have limited influence to broker alignments between actors in institutionally complex settings. Overall the study finds that interorganisational collective action in institutionally complex fields is challenging and should be seen as an on-going accomplishment.

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List of Abbreviations

AARP	American Association for Retired People
GALA	Gay and Lesbian Archives
JWG	Joint Working Group
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender
LGBTI	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex
LGEP	Lesbian and Gay Equality Project
NCGLE	National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NPAS	National Positive Ageing Strategy
ROI	Republic of Ireland
SA	South Africa

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Chapter 1 - Introduction and overview

1.1 Introduction

This research focuses on how systems of beliefs and practices influence efforts to construct collective action in nonprofit organisational fields. As is illustrated below, in the wider nonprofit practice literature, aligning available resources to address social problems is often assumed to be desirable. It is often assumed that this alignment can produce an objective improvement in social problems. Construction of collective action is therefore, approached from a functional perspective which emphasises “a how to” type approach of facilitating greater integration. There is a need for research that explores how actors interpret priority problems within fields, effective strategies to address these problems and their own roles and the roles of others in collectively organising to address these problems.

1.2 The focus of the research

This dissertation adopts a social constructionist approach to studying collective action. This approach does not assume that there is an objective reality to the social problems actors perceive or an objective best way to address these problems. The research explores inductively the shared goals, action strategies and collective identities of individuals and analyses how institutional complexity influences the construction of collective action. The study also seeks to contribute to a very active, current discussion in philanthropic practice on the role that foundations play in encouraging and brokering the construction of interorganisational collective action.

Two organisational fields are studied, one in South Africa and the other in the Republic of Ireland and five cases of efforts to construct collective action are analysed across these two research settings. Institutional theory is used to explore how multiple systems of ingrained beliefs and practices influence these efforts. A model of how institutional complexity influence actors as they attempt to construct collective action is derived. The research question underpinning the dissertation is

“How does institutional complexity influence efforts to construct collective action in nonprofit fields?”

Institutional complexity is defined as “the presence of multiple, incompatible institutional logics within a field” (Greenwood, Raynard, Kodeih, Micelotta, & Lounsbury, 2011: 317). Institutional logics in turn are defined, following (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999: 804) as “the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality”. Increasingly, researchers are becoming interested in how institutional complexity influences the interpretations and actions of individual actors (Jarzabkowski, Smets, Bednarek, Burke, & Spee, 2013). This gives rise to a fundamental puzzle, which is at the heart of this dissertation. If institutions provide the fundamental building blocks for how we understand social reality, how do actors engage with each other to construct collective action in conditions of institutional complexity?

The research focuses on interactions amongst leaders of nonprofit organisations who engage in discussions and debates around selecting goals and strategies to work on collectively. Nonprofit organisations are chosen because they do not share common measures for assessing their impact (such as profit) and therefore the priority goals of these organisations and the collective action they should engage in are more subjectively constructed (Hardy, Phillips, & Lawrence, 2003). Nonprofit organisations are defined as organisations, which do not distribute profits (Salamon, Anheier, Toepler, & Sokolowski, 1999). The dissertation focuses on nonprofit organisations that espouse objectives relating to bringing about changes to the lives of people in specific communities and/or wider society. Following Wooten & Hoffman (2008), a “relational” definition of fields is used, where the boundary of the field is defined by the extent to which actors take each other into account when acting. The research is therefore concerned with understanding how plural systems of ingrained, shared beliefs and practices influence interactions intended to construct collective action. The influence of this institutional complexity on both successful and unsuccessful efforts to construct collective action is studied and therefore, the word “efforts” is included in the research question.

1.3 Setting the scene – the background to the research focus

The interest in this research topic arose from my time working at a charitable grant-making foundation, the Atlantic Philanthropies and the two organisational fields selected for analysis were funded by this foundation. I worked for the foundation across Europe, the United States, South Africa and Viet Nam in a strategy and evaluation role from 1998 to 2012.

Over that time the foundation went through a number of significant shifts, the most dramatic of which involved moving out of funding higher education from 2002 onwards and instead funding social justice causes. The Atlantic Philanthropies became part of the strategic philanthropy movement, which was emerging at that time and was one of the early adopters of organisation-wide strategic planning and evaluation systems. I managed a small internal team whose role it was to provide support and advice to staff and grantee organisations on these processes. A significant part of the strategies developed by the foundation involved “field-building” activities which focused on convening groups of grantee organisations and encouraging them to think about linkages and interorganisational co-operation.

Atlantic also took a decision to spend-down its endowment gradually and to make its final grants in 2016. Atlantic was the largest private funder in many of the fields where it operated. The foundation will have committed grants of approximately \$8 billion over the course of its lifetime by the time it closes its doors. This spend-down process created a perception of a need within the foundation to facilitate discussions amongst the grantee organisations about life after Atlantic. Appendix 1 provides a more detailed overview of the Atlantic Philanthropies. As the Atlantic Philanthropies adopted the approach of strategic philanthropy it shifted within its own work from an opportunist, flexible approach to grant-making to focusing its grant-making on sets of objectives and strategies within fields. As is outlined in Appendix 1 this involved bringing strategic “coherence” to its own programmes and adopting a more central role in fields in terms of convening actors and seeking to facilitate and encourage strategic alignments, as recommended by Porter & Kramer (1999).

I became interested in the topic of interorganisational collective action after attending a meeting in 2009 where a group of organisations in South Africa focusing on LGBTI issues discussed the needs of LGBTI people in South Africa, what the future might hold and what the organisational field should look like post the Atlantic funding. The meeting was a

fractious one where debates took place about the issues the organisations should collectively prioritise, how these issues should be addressed and what the organisational field should look like going forward. I commenced my doctoral studies a year later and selected the topic of interorganisational collaboration as the focus of my dissertation. Although the role of the foundation is an important focus, it is not the main or focal actor. I was particularly interested in exploring how nonprofit leaders interpreted priority issues and actions and how they organised collectively.

The research journey began in 2010. At the outset I was interested in organisational culture. After a year of study I developed an interest in institutional theory and institutional logics, which seemed to fit better with the field level focus the research was taking. I attended a summer school on institutional theory and organisational change at the Copenhagen Business School in 2012 and began to immerse myself in institutionalist thinking.

At the end of 2012, I resigned from the foundation in a planned exit as part of the spend-down process. The fieldwork took place after I had agreed and announced my exit and some of the interviews took place after my exit. These interviews required the building of trust with the interviewees and establishing that the purpose of this work was academic and that the appropriate confidentiality protocols would be observed.

The analysis of the interviews and the documentary material I gathered required me to reflect deeply on the role, which I had been associated with and built a professional reputation around. The research required me to reflexively consider my own biases and to fundamentally re-evaluate how the work I had been involved in was interpreted by others. Chapter 3 outlines in more detail the efforts that I engaged in to encourage open and frank discussions with nonprofit actors and to reflect on my own interpretations of the data. As the research progressed I became increasingly questioning of my own earlier role in promulgating strategic management approaches and more curious about the role of ingrained beliefs in influencing interactions.

I began to explore the concept of institutional work, given the interest in the “construction” of collective action. I presented academic papers on the emerging findings using institutional work as the main theoretical approach at the New Institutionalism Workshop in Warsaw and the Inequality, Institutions & Organizations Conference in Vancouver in 2013. Through the

inductive research process though, systems of beliefs and practices emerged as a central theme and I returned to institutional logics as the main theoretical lens but with an increased interest in how institutional complexity influences interactions.

1.4 The intended contribution of the dissertation

The research builds on previous work by researchers, which highlights the interplay between actors and the institutional environment in the production of interorganisational collaboration (e.g. Hardy, Lawrence, & Grant, 2005; Phillips, Lawrence, & Hardy, 2000). The research ties this previous work in with the most recent thinking on institutional complexity and how institutional logics are activated at the level of the individual (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012) and influence interactions.

The dissertation seeks to make a number of contributions to institutional theory. The first is an illustration of how institutional complexity is experienced by individuals. Whilst institutional logics are often conceptualised at the field level, there have been many calls for a better understanding of the nondeterministic, complex ways institutional logics influence individuals as they interact (e.g. Suddaby, 2010; Zilber, 2013). This research provides insights into institutional complexity by analysing the collective action frames of individuals. The research explores the extent to which individuals adhere to logics as they interact. Concepts of ambiguity and cultural fragmentation (e.g. Martin, 1992) are drawn up to explore how multiple institutional logics can simultaneously influence actors. This research therefore extends existing work on how logics are experienced by individuals (e.g. Jarzabkowski, Smets, Bednarek, Burke, & Spee, 2013) within institutionally complex fields.

By interviewing participants and studying meeting minutes and transcriptions of interactions, the research seeks to illuminate how actors attempt to cooperate, conflict and organise themselves collectively, across different institutional logics. The dissertation develops a theoretical model from the key empirical themes which emerged from studying interpretations of efforts to construct collective action and makes a novel contribution to our understanding of how institutional complexity influences these processes.

In addition, the research contributes to the practice literature of nonprofit and philanthropic organisations. The research does not attempt to inform efforts to construct collective action by

developing a new consulting model or facilitation approach. Rather, it explores the dynamics of institutional complexity with regard to constructing collective action and highlights the challenges of working collectively across multiple logics. The research illustrates the importance of understanding the institutional environment, the implications of this for funders and the role of ambiguity in facilitating efforts to organise across logics in institutionally complex environments.

1.5 Structure of the dissertation

The dissertation is organised into seven chapters. This first chapter is used to set out the research question, provide a brief overview of broad topic area and illustrate the intended contribution of the work.

Chapter 2 outlines the institutional theory literature on which the dissertation builds and reviews research on efforts to construct collective action in nonprofit fields. The chapter describes how recently there has been an increased emphasis on exploring the micro-processes of institutional logics and outlines the calls for a greater understanding of how logics manifest themselves in the interpretations and actions of individuals. Alternative potential theoretical starting points such as institutional work and strategic action fields are briefly reviewed and the reasons for selecting institutional logics are outlined. The review then focuses on the literature on constructing collective action in nonprofit fields. Publications that focus on the need for strategic alignment in nonprofit fields are discussed and the implications for understanding efforts to facilitate greater integration and collaboration amongst nonprofit organisations are considered. In particular, the practice literature from the field of philanthropy is reviewed and discussed given the prominence of such concepts as “collective impact” and the central role ascribed to philanthropic foundations in constructing collective action.

Chapter 3 sets out the epistemological perspective, methodological approach and methods used. Social constructionism is introduced and the implications of this approach for studying institutional influences are considered. The approach of using collective action framing to inductively derive logics and to explore their influence on individuals’ interpretations of collective action is explained and justified. The specific methods used are then explained. The inductive approaches used in data collection and analyses are set out. The different stages of

data analysis and coding are described in some detail and the tables containing the coding structures are presented.

Chapters 4 and 5 describe the two organisational fields, the salient institutional logics and the five cases of efforts to construct collective action. The nonprofit field in the Republic of Ireland, which promotes the interests and welfare of older adults and the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex (LGBTI) field in South Africa are the two fields, which provide the research settings for the dissertation. The chapters i) provide the historical and cultural backgrounds of the organisational fields, ii) describe the efforts to construct collective action, iii) outline the interpretations and collective action frames of the participants in these efforts, iv) derive the prevalent institutional logics and v) describe how these logics were experienced by individuals.

Chapter 6 provides a cross-case analysis of five efforts to construct collective action and discusses these findings in the light of the literature reviewed in Chapter 2. Theoretical themes are developed in terms the context, interactions and outcomes of efforts to construct collective action across different institutional logics. A process model is then developed to highlight the inter-relationships between these theoretical themes. Finally, the role of the philanthropic foundation in instigating collective action across the five cases is analysed. The findings on the role of the philanthropic foundation in constructing collective action are compared and contrasted with the philanthropic practice literature and previous research from the institutional tradition.

Chapter 7 provides an overview of the main conclusions and summarises the contribution of the dissertation. The limitations of the study are outlined, directions for future research are recommended and concluding reflections on the research journey are provided.

Chapter 2 – Literature review of institutional complexity and constructing collective action in nonprofit fields

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews literature on institutional complexity and the literature on constructing collective action in nonprofit fields. The ways in which research on institutional research illuminates how systems of beliefs and practices influence actors within fields is discussed. The concept of institutional complexity is introduced and the choice of institutional logics as a theoretical starting point is assessed. A nascent strand of research, which uses more grounded approaches to studying institutional logics is reviewed and the potential for studying individuals' actual experiences and interpretations of institutional complexity is examined. Concepts of institutional logics as sources of ideological commitments are contrasted with more strategic or malleable concepts of institutional logics as toolkits that actors use, so as to better understand how individual experience institutional complexity. Ambiguity is then introduced as a neglected aspect of institutional complexity. The concept is used in this dissertation to explore whether individuals are influenced by multiple institutional logics simultaneously and what the implications of this are for collective action.

The chapter then moves to analyse previous research on the construction of collective action in organisational fields, with a particular focus on nonprofit fields. The construction of collective action across multiple institutions is reviewed and both the institutional context and interactive framing processes within these contexts are discussed. The more functionalist approaches to studying the construction of collective action in nonprofit fields are then analysed. The role of the funder as a strategic actor in the construction of collective action within the philanthropic practice literature is reviewed and the relevant themes discussed. Finally the main themes from the literature review are summarised and the gaps in our understanding relevant to the research question and the intended contribution are highlighted.

2.2 Defining institutions and fields

Institutionalism is a body of theory that holds that social phenomena influence individual thought and action (Clemens & Cook, 1999; Jepperson, 1991; Scott, 2008). Whereas Scott

(1995) defines institutions broadly as including coercive and normative features, Jepperson (1991) and Meyer and Rowan (1977) emphasises the cognitive aspects. For Scott (1995) institutions can be produced by the coercion of rules or the conscious advocating of norms whereas Jepperson (1991) and Meyer and Rowan (1977) emphasise the cognitive taken for granted elements. Jepperson (1991: 149) defines institutions as

“Socially constructed, routine reproduced (ceteris paribus), program or rule systems. They operate as relative fixtures of constraining environments and are accompanied by taken for granted accounts. This description accords with the metaphors repeatedly invoked in discussions – metaphors of frameworks or rules. These imageries capture simultaneous contextual empowerment and constraint, and taken for grantedness.”

The definition of institutions adopted in this dissertation is primarily cognitive following Jepperson, (1991) and Zucker (1977). As we shall see in the discussion of institutional complexity below, this “taken for granted” aspect of institutions is a matter of degree (Jepperson, 1991) and we will explore the apparent paradox of how multiple, competing institutions can be taken for granted simultaneously within organisational fields. It shall be argued below that a key insight of the institutional logics literature is that institutions need not be taken for granted by everyone within a field. Rather, institutions often are taken for granted by different groups and to differing degrees. Weber (1978) differentiated society into distinct value spheres, each with its own norms and obligations and underpinned by its own concept of rationality. This conception of society has been highly influential on those institutional researchers who explore how different organising belief systems or templates spread within and across organisational fields (e.g. Friedland & Alford, 1991; Friedland, 2012; Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008; Townley, 2002). This plurality of belief systems provides the potential basis for conflict, confusion and ambiguity (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Jarzabkowski et al., 2013; Kraatz & Block, 2008; Santos & Pache, 2010; Seo & Creed, 2002; Smets, Morris, & Greenwood, 2012). As shall be discussed below, the adherence by actors to these belief systems (i.e. whether actors take the institutionalised beliefs for granted to the exclusion of others) is of central concern to this dissertation.

Institutional theory is credited with advancing the concept of the organisational field. According to Scott & Davis (2007) “the beginning of wisdom for an institutionalist is the recognition that existing institutional structures shape the creation of new fields”. According to Powell & DiMaggio (1983: 148) a field is a body of “organizations that in the aggregate constitute a recognized body of institutional life”. The study of organisational fields varies

from approaches which emphasise more realist aspects of what constitutes a field such as competitive supply and demand relationships and organisational survival in ecological approaches (e.g. Hannan & Freeman, 1977) to those more cognitive approaches that emphasise the extent to which the grouped activity forms a recognised part of organisational life and which emphasise the cognitive and institutional dimensions (e.g. Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Bourdieu, 1985, 1997; Porac, Thomas, & Baden-Fuller, 1989; and DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Scott (1994: 207-208) elaborates on Di Maggio & Powell's (1983) definition of the field by highlighting both the shared framework of meaning dimension and the actual interactive dimension of fields.

“The notion of field connotes the existence of organizations that partake of a common meaning system and whose participants interact more frequently and fatefully with one another than those actors outside of the field.”

The first part of the definition highlights the way in which a socially constructed, shared institutional context influences how organisations interpret and act whilst the later section references interactions which take place over shared time and space. R. Meyer (2008) highlights that the definition of fields in institutional literature often conflates these two distinct meanings. She advocates using the term organisational field to denote a group of actors that directly or indirectly interact with each other. For example a group of organisations can interact with each other but have completely different ways of making sense of the world and alternatively groups of organisations can never interact directly but be highly influenced by shared organising templates. She proposes the use of the term institutional field to refer to a sphere of institutional meaning i.e. a group who share a common framework of meaning which can transcend time and space, a core feature of institutions and which provide “shared typifications and mutual expectations” (R. Meyer, 2008: 525). Institutional fields should be studied to explore how a particular single belief system or a system of meaning expands or contracts and how a particular system influences organisational life as it changes over time. Organisational fields should be studied to explore how single or multiple systems of meaning or competing institutional orders or logics interact and would therefore draw greater attention to institutional heterogeneity at a given point in time (R. Meyer, 2008). Similarly Phillips, Lawrence, & Hardy (2000) distinguish between organisational “domains” where organisations interact and institutional fields where organisations share common institutionalised beliefs and practices.

For those that are interested in studying how different belief systems and practices co-exist and conflict across organisations, fields are arenas where belief systems are in competition and contested (Hoffman, 1999). This interest in how different, often contradictory, belief systems influence practices and organising templates within fields gave rise to the literature on institutional logics and has moved institutional thinking towards new areas of research that focus increasingly on the institutional complexity of fields (Greenwood, Raynard, Kodeih, Micelotta, & Lounsbury, 2011; Schneiberg & Clemens, 2006; Suddaby, Elsbach, Greenwood, Meyer, & Zilber, 2010) discussed below.

Wooten & Hoffman (2008) propose a relational approach to studying organisational fields where they focus on the extent to which organisational actors “take each other into account” as the demarking the membership of a field and provides a thoroughly social constructionist view of the essence of organisational fields. This definition provides a basis for exploring how different beliefs systems or institutional logics interact as actors attempt to construct collective action, as it is not required that fields share common meaning systems. It is the extent to which they are aware of each other as they make sense of organisational life that constitutes a field and allows for clashes of meaning systems within fields. As this research explores the impact of multiple belief systems on individuals as they interact across organisational boundaries, this social constructionist definition of the concept of the field will be adopted.

2.3 Institutional logics and institutional complexity

The main thrust of the early new institutional project was on studying diffusion of dominant belief systems within fields. Although theories of diffusion processes or mechanisms were developed (e.g. coercive, mimetic and normative carriers (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) or normative, regulative and cultural- cognitive pillars (Scott, 2008)) the emphasis was on studying dominant, durable, field-level institutionalised beliefs and practices (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991). The article by Friedland & Alford (1991) on institutional logics was quite different from the other chapters in the seminal 1991 book *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis* edited by DiMaggio & Powell (1991). It focused on how multiple social orders within society provided contradictory and interdependent logics that guided individuals’ interpretations and actions. Berger and Luckmann (1967: 82) had previously

highlighted how institutions provide systems of meaning for individuals to interpret the social realm;

“The ‘logic’ this attributed to the institutional order is part of the socially available stock of knowledge and taken for granted as such.”

The term institutional logics was first coined by Alford & Friedland (1985) to describe the conflicting beliefs and practices in modern societies and it is this emphasis on how interdependent and contradictory social influences constitute what is meaningful and valuable during organising. Whereas, earlier new institutionalists had been concerned to explain the homogeneity found in organisational life, the early contributions by Alford & Friedland, (1985; 1991) emphasised the diversity of institutional orders and the contradictions between them. Although writers such as J. W. Meyer & Rowan (1977) did recognise plural institutions, the main emphasis in their work was on how organisations incorporate institutional rules to gain legitimacy rather than technical advantage.

Friedland & Alford (1991) claim that individuals draw on logics from relatively stable institutional orders (e.g. capitalism and state bureaucracy) to make sense of organisational life within fields and that these logics are often contradictory. These logics influence action by providing social guidance about valued outcomes and appropriate behaviour (Scott, 2008; Suddaby, Elsbach, Greenwood, Meyer, & Zilber, 2010). Institutional logics have emerged as a distinct body of inquiry within new institutional theory and have been used to explore how changing beliefs, ways of thinking and or rules affected organisational life (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008) and has become one of the most active areas of organisational research (Lounsbury & Boxenbaum, 2013).

2.3.1 Defining institutional logics

Friedland & Alford (1991: 243) define institutions as

“supra organizational patterns of human activity by which individuals and organizations produce and reproduce their material subsistence and organize time and space. They are also symbolic systems, ways of ordering reality, and thereby rendering experience of time and space meaningful.”

Institutional logics provide shared belief systems about organising and give rise to common related practices within fields of activity (Reay & Hinings, 2009; Scott, 2008). According to Stål (2011: 422) institutional logics “provide the goals to be pursued and the various templates for accomplishing these goals”. Thornton & Ocasio (1999: 804) conceptualise

institutional logics as “socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules”. Within this tradition, the core assumption is that the interests, identities, values, and assumptions of individuals and organisations are embedded within prevailing institutional logics (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008: 103). Drawing on these definitions of institutional logics the core essence of the term denotes sets of beliefs and practices, which are taken for granted by groups of individuals within fields and which influence

- the goals which they value and pursue
- the strategies which they use to achieve these goals
- competing sets of collective identities

The institutional logics perspective focuses on how institutions constitute the reality of individuals, including the goals they pursue, how these goals should be pursued and their conceptions of themselves. By ordering individuals sense of reality as argued by Friedland & Alford (1991: 243), institutional logic cognitively structure individuals interpretations of goals, strategies and identities to varying levels of taken for grantedness and these goals, strategies and identities are co-implicated in constellations (Thornton et al., 2012).

As we shall see below these definitions, whilst providing a coherent essence to the concept of institutional logics also leave unanswered many other questions and provide sufficient room for the institutional logics perspective to encapsulate different approaches within a broad tent (Lounsbury & Boxenbaum, 2013). Within the institutional logics perspective there are different emphasises regarding the co-existence of competing logics, the analytical levels at which logics should be studied, the extent of the influence of logics on individuals goals and identities, whether logics are strategically used by actors.

2.3.2 The choice of institutional logics as a theoretical starting point

The choice of institutional logics as a theoretical lens through which to study the influence of institutions on interactions needs to be compared and contrasted against other possible approaches. Fligstein & McAdam (2012) have recently developed a competing theoretical approach to explain how systems of meaning influence collective action drawing on social movement theory and Bourdieu's concepts of the field and domination (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011). Fligstein & McAdam's (2012) book was published around the same time as Thornton

et al.'s (2012) book on institutional logics. Fligstein & McAdam (2012) claim that the institutional logics perspective overlooks the issue of power relations and emphasises stability, taken for granted assumptions and uniformity. This overstates the difference with current institutional logics research which has distinguished itself from previous institutional research that emphasised isomorphism and stability (Thornton et al., 2012; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). Fligstein & McAdam's (2012) work does have more of an objectivist conception of interests and power but their approaches share many conceptual tools and empirical approaches and accord a central place to meaning structures. Also McAdam & Fligstein (2012) distinguish between their emphasis on "meaning" and Bourdieu's (1977) more objectivist stance. Whilst the differences between the two approaches should not be overstated, Friedland (2012a) has criticised this work for seeking to ultimately explain all social meaning through the lens of an underlying desire for control within fields. The institutional logics approach is preferred to the strategic action field approach in this dissertation given the emphasis in this work on exploring how multiple belief systems influence the social construction of collective action rather than assuming an underlying homology of power. That said, the strategic action field literature has much in common with the way in which institutional logics are conceptualised in this work and it is seen as a complementary rather than competing literature.

Another possible lens through which to study the influence of belief systems on collective action is the concept of institutional work. With a call to bring the individual back into institutionalism, Lawrence, Suddaby, & Leca (2010) argue that individuals and institutions had a greater appreciation in Berger & Luckmann's (1967) work than in modern new institutional research. The concept of institutional work is introduced by Lawrence & Suddaby (2006: 216) to "represent the broad category of purposive action aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions". They build upon concepts such as DiMaggio's (1998) institutional entrepreneur and Oliver's (1991) concept of institutional strategy to develop a concept of institutional work which explores the relationship between individual purposeful action and the emergence, maintenance and destruction of institutions.

"The study of institutional work takes as its point of departure an interest in work - the efforts of individuals and collective actors to cope with, keep up with, shore up, tear down, tinker with, transform, or create anew the institutional structures within which they live, work, and play, and which give them their roles, relationships, resources, and routines."(Lawrence et al., 2010: 53)

The concept of institutional work is therefore an effort to resolve the paradox of embeddedness and independent, thoughtful action but without disembedding the actor from the context of the action (Battilana & D'Aunno, 2009). It focuses on why actors within institutional contexts work to translate and recombine institutions and as such is a relevant construct for studying how actors in nonprofit settings interpret and act during change (Lawrence et al., 2010). The institutional work research referenced above has been very influential on the approach adopted in this dissertation but given the focus on the influence of belief systems on collective action, a choice was made to adopt institutional logics as the primary lens. The focus of the research question is less on purposeful actions to create, maintain and/or disrupt the prevailing institutional arrangements and more on the influence of these institutions on action. Whilst Lawrence et al. (2009) acknowledge the recursive relationship between institutions and actions they highlight that the main focus of the institutional work project is on how purposeful individuals influence institutions. That said, there are many overlaps between the focus of this dissertation on how institutional complexity influences individuals as they attempt to engage in collective action and the focus of institutional work researchers on the practices and interpretations of individuals. For Zilber (2013), examining the potential ways in which the institutional logics tradition could be strengthened by drawing on the institutional work approach, she claims that there is a need to bring more inductive approaches into studies of institutional logics and focus on meanings and interpretations;

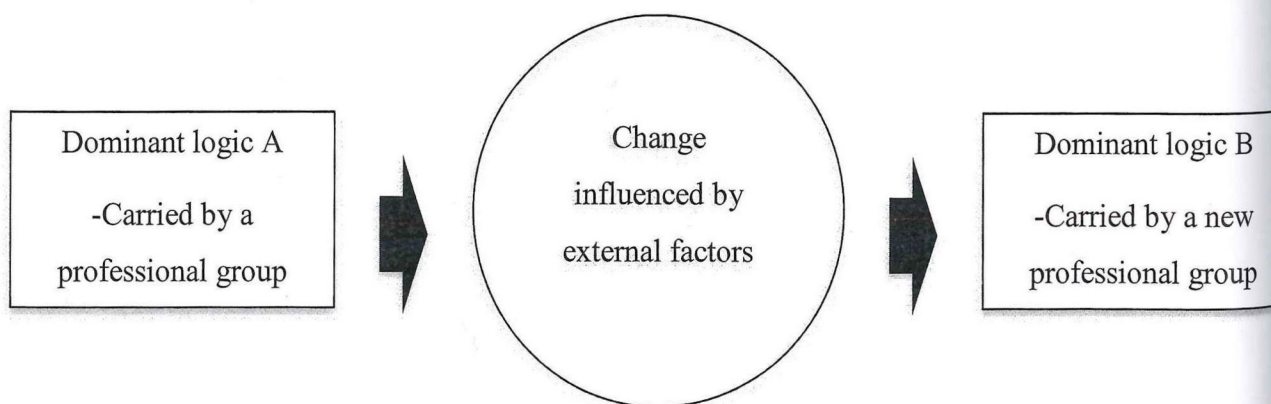
“A constructivist approach by contrast focuses on how social reality – institutional logics included – is constructed, by whom and what are the practices involved. A constructivist approach is thus keen to the formation of meanings and “the work in progress” of the institutional order...What is lost by not providing a causal model is gained by providing an analysis of the rich social dynamics and the detailed actions that are carried out in the light – and through the use- of institutional logics...Such a perspective would accept the complexity of social processes and our inability to chart at times clear cause and effect relations for social phenomena that are often caught up within a “hermeneutic circle”...to understand the meaningful aspects of institutional logics as operated and used in the individual, organizational, field and society at large, we need a conceptualization that more fully appreciates meanings (and materials) as socially constructed.” (Zilber, 2013: 84).

By using an inductive approach to studying the influence of institutional logics as recommended by Zilber (2013), this dissertation seeks to make a contribution to understanding how individuals experience institutional complexity and how this impacts on attempts to construct collective action.

2.3.3 Early research on institutional logics – The rise and fall of deterministic belief systems

Much of the early empirical work on institutional logics explored cases where dominant logics exist or where logics compete and a dominant logic comes to the fore (Reay & Hinings, 2009). A variety of industries, fields and organisations have been studied varying from the thrift industry (Haveman & Rao, 1997), higher education publishing industry (Thornton, 2002) and US Healthcare (Scott et al., 2000) to explore how dominant beliefs and practices shifted within organisational fields over time. These studies highlight how changing institutional logics create over time dominant logics within certain fields and the emphasis is on measuring the extent to which new systems of cultural beliefs and practices influenced organisational forms and behaviour. Although these studies emphasise that individuals are influenced by a range of social institutions, they tend to emphasise the dominance of individual institutional logics at given points in time and follow the new institutionalist interest in diffusion of beliefs and practices (e.g. DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). In line with early new institutionalist theory as described by (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991), these studies do not have an explicit theory of how institutional logics influence, especially at the level of the individual actor (Walter W. Powell & Colyvas, 2008; Roy Suddaby, 2010a). Rather, changes in organisational forms or the prevalence of certain discourses are used as proxies to quantitatively measure changes in beliefs systems within fields (Roy Suddaby, 2010a; Zilber, 2013).

Figure 2.1 – Institutional logics deterministically influencing fields



2.3.4 Institutional complexity – Competition and contestation between belief systems

The core insight from Friedland & Alford's (1991) original articulation of the institutional logics concept was that society is comprised of different, often contradictory orders. As

institutional researchers more generally became more interested in plurality (Kraatz & Block, 2008) and the role of agency (Hallett & Ventresca, 2006), institutional logics increasingly provided a theoretical starting point for exploring how these multiple belief systems influenced in more complex fields (Greenwood et al., 2011) and provided the sources of change and agency (Seo & Creed, 2002).

Given the above definition of institutions as cognitively taken for granted, how can an institution be taken for granted when alternative institutional logics exist and are promoted? There are now many studies which highlight that multiple logics exist within fields over sustained periods of time (e.g. Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Dunn & Jones, 2010; Goodrick & Reay, 2011; Purdy & Gray, 2009; Reay & Hinings, 2009; Santos & Pache, 2010). Battilana, Leca & Boxenbaum (2009) and Seo & Creed (2002) highlight that individuals that are exposed to competing logics are more likely to develop some reflexive capacity, less likely to develop a cognitive acceptance of them as reality and therefore engage in conscious choice about the adoption and promotion of institutional logics.

As Kraatz and Block (2008: 245) highlight, institutional complexity has profound implications for our understanding of how institutions impact on organisational change

In a pluralistic environment, organizational change is also compelled and constrained by field level institutions. But, these institutions combine with one another to yield variations, unintended consequences, and myriad opportunities for organizational action and continuous change.

Dunn & Jones (2010) show how multiple logics have long existed in the medical education and have become institutionalised due to the competing demands of the profession for both scientific advancements and care. They outline how institutional complexity can persist as logics “co-evolve” within fields. They show how care and science logics can complement each other at times but also conflict and result in a greater number of medical schools as these institutions struggle to cope with the competing demands of advancing medical scientific knowledge to attract research income and train staff in public health care. Where professions embody competing logics and compete for resources they will struggle to be balanced within a single organisation (Dunn & Jones, 2010). Dunn & Jones (2010) provide insights into how a plurality of logics can complement and compete. Rather than seeing logics as determined by social pressures (Friedland & Alford, 1991), Dunn & Jones (2010: 141) show how exogenous pressures and the ability of professions to resist logics (e.g. through decoupling) or to “internalize and hybridize those conceptions into the profession, thereby giving them

legitimacy” can result in some logics being imported into a field, others morphing into new hybridised logics and others being excluded.

2.3.5 The role of institutional orders

One of the challenges of using institutional logics to study efforts to construct collective action is the different levels at which logics are conceptualised. Studies such as Haveman & Rao (1997), Scott, Ruef, Mendel, & Caronna, (2000) and Thornton (2002), carried out at a field level, investigate how changing institutional environments influence the broad prevalence of practices and/or organisational forms over time within organisational fields using primarily quantitative methods by employing proxy measures (Zilber, 2013). This approach is heavily influenced by the use of Weberian value spheres but it leads to a challenge when engaging in empirical work on institutional complexity; should ideal types that abstract from reality and represent a “pure case in which the relevant features are distinct and unambiguous” (M. Weber, 1949: 88) also be used as a starting point to analyse complex systems of practices and beliefs? For Friedland (2009a, 2012a, 2012b) the term institutional logics describes a concept where actors are adherents to logics almost in a religious sense and is best suited to studying fields where there is strict adherence to the faiths.

Institutional orders are contradictory and interdependent and in Western societies individual choice “is institutionally and historically shaped by the emergence of capitalism, state, democracy, the nuclear family and the Christian religion” (Friedland & Alford, 1991: 239-240). In the work of Thornton et al. (2012) these orders are defined as the markets, states, corporations, professions, families, religions and communities. According to Thornton et al. (2012: 54)

“...each institutional order represents a governance system that provides a frame of reference that preconditions actors’ sensemaking and choices.”

Although there are many institutions operating within a domain or field, there is a single “corner stone” institution which conditions how events can be interpreted and which infuses activity with meaning (Thornton et al., 2012). Thornton et al. (2012) and Thornton & Ocasio (2008) emphasise that ideal types are not descriptions of reality but rather abstractions from it to aid analysis and that it is the essence of each institutional order, which the ideal type describes. For Friedland (2009, 2012b) institutional logics are tightly coupled with practices and he criticises Thornton et al.’s (2012) argument that institutional logics can be

decomposed. Whilst Friedland (2012a) and Friedland & Alford (1991) reference different, contradictory institutional orders repeatedly, drawing on Weber's polytheism it seems that a person can only worship one god at a time and that each of these spheres of value have distinct practices associated with it. At the core is an institutional substance, a sacred core that cannot be directly observed (Friedland, 2009a, 2009b, 2012a) but which is associated with distinct practices (Friedland, 2012b). The practices constitute the institutional logics and the institutional logics constitute the practices as meaningful.

For Thornton et al. (2012) it is an unaddressed empirical question as to the extent to which institutional logics and sets of practices are segmented into coherent systems and the extent to which the inter-institutional system can maintain independent multiple logics. We can see therefore a significant difference between the emphasis on logics which are tightly coupled with practices and governed by "cornerstone" institutions which have greater conceptual elegance and a more inductive, historically contingent approach with a greater capacity to explore micro-level practices which allows the possibility of greater incoherence and the "jurisdictional overlap of institutional orders that creates institutional complexity" (Thornton et al., 2012: 57). The main focus of Zilber's (2013) criticism of institutionalism, and the institutional logics tradition in particular is that there is a need for more grounded analyses of institutional influences which actually explore the more complex ways how actors interpret meanings and act in social situations (Zilber, 2002, 2008, 2013).

2.3.6 Studying the logics of distinct groups within fields

Research on institutional logics has tended to focus on fields where there are professional groupings that adhere to different logics (e.g. Dunn & Jones, 2010; Kitchener, 2002; Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007; Reay & Hinings, 2009; Scott et al., 2000). As is illustrated in Figure 2.1, in these fields the groups adhering to or promoting logics are partitioned, often based on professions and the members of these groups are often conceptualised as "carrying" the logics. According to McPherson & Sauder (2013: 167)

"Even research on logical pluralism within fields and professions operates under the assumption that each logic is tied to distinct subgroups, and it is the balkanization of commitments to different logics that creates dynamic tensions within these fields."

Goodrick & Reay (2011), studying the influence of multiple logics on the work of pharmacists found that the ability to partition the various institutional demands by

professional groupings was one of the key mechanisms for the enactment simultaneously of multiple institutional demands. Again this assumption that groups “carry” logics presents a coherent picture of fields with multiple logics and distinct groups are seen as adhering to the logics and/or promoting them.

Friedland (2009a, 2012a) too has tended to focus on fields where there are sharp divides between people who adhere to different logics and first became interested in the conception of institutional logics through studying impassioned disputes in areas like Israel and Palestine. It is argued in this dissertation that as well as studying the faithful whose practices constitute their faith and their faith their practices, there is a need to study the messier fields where the institutions yield influence but in less dominant and less deterministic ways, and practices can be infused with meaning from a range of institutional orders. Exploring these “middle grounds” where logics exercise an influence on individuals but only partially, raises the question of how institutional logics influence where there are some actors at least for whom the contradictory institutional logics have some level of attraction.

2.4 More grounded conceptions of institutional logics

Hallett & Ventresca (2006) and Binder (2007) argue for a concept of “inhabited institutions” which denotes a rejection of the more macro, structural, deterministic view of the influence of institutional logics on individual behaviour in new institutionalism and a desire for greater attention to how individuals construct and interpret meaning. Hallett & Ventresca (2006) call for more emphasis on symbolic interactionism as an approach. Rather than institutions being “inert containers of meaning”, institutions should be seen as partly formed by the people who reproduce them and that are produced and reproduced through interaction (Hallett & Ventresca, 2006: 215). In the symbolic interactionist tradition, they argue for less abstraction to ideal types and for a greater appreciation in organisations about how meaning gets constructed and interpreted locally. The study of how institutions are interpreted by individuals has traditionally been neglected within institutionalism (Scott, 2008). As Zilber (2006: 282) outlines

“the very institutionalization of a structure or practice is taken as evidence that it had won legitimacy, and probing into the symbolic and cultural processes involved is neglected”.

In the Israeli rape crisis centre that Zilber (2002) studied, she explores the micro-dynamics of how a therapeutic logic came to replace a feministic logic. She shows how actors negotiate over not only what practices will be institutionalised but also over what meanings will be attached to them. This process of interpretation is central to the concept of institutional agency (Zilber, 2002). In this way she studied not only the overt behavioural patterns but also the systems of meanings which people attached to these behaviours. Focusing on the role of the professionals rather than that of the professions, she shows how actors mediate institutions and can passively “carry” institutions as well as more politically actively associate or dissociate certain meanings with actions and therefore influence what actions get institutionalised.

Little attention has been paid to how institutional complexity influences individuals (Jarzabkowski et al., 2013; Pache & Santos, 2013; Suddaby, 2010). Pache & Santos (2013) theorise how individuals, depending on whether they are novice, familiar or identified with a logic and the extent the field is comprised of multiple, salient logics, are likely to respond to competing logics. They develop a matrix of likely responses that range across compliance, rejection, compartmentalisation and hybridisation. They call for further research to better understand the mechanisms by which institutional logics influence individuals as they interact and highlight that this is a significant gap in the literature. There has been a growth recently in research seeking to draw upon the practice perspective which has informed much research in the institutional work arena as well as beginning to inform debates on how institutional logics influence action (Jarzabkowski, Matthiesen, & Van De Ven, 2008; Jarzabkowski et al., 2013). This work has embraced concepts of institutional pluralism and has developed a concept of “institutional ambidexterity”, used by Greenwood et al., (2011) at the organisational level, to highlight how individual actors can simultaneously and purposefully enact institutional logics. This research agenda focuses on what actors actually do and how they interpret environments with multiple logics. The phrase ambidexterity is intended to highlight that rather than competing logics being partitioned into groups, that individuals can skilfully enact and juggle multiple logics i.e. the right hand knows what the left hand is doing (Jarzabkowski et al., 2013). From this perspective, the influence of institutional logics is more a matter of degree rather than an absolute, binary segmentation between them. This dissertation seeks to build on and contribute to this strand of institutional research by exploring how actors are influenced by multiple logics as they attempt to construct collective action.

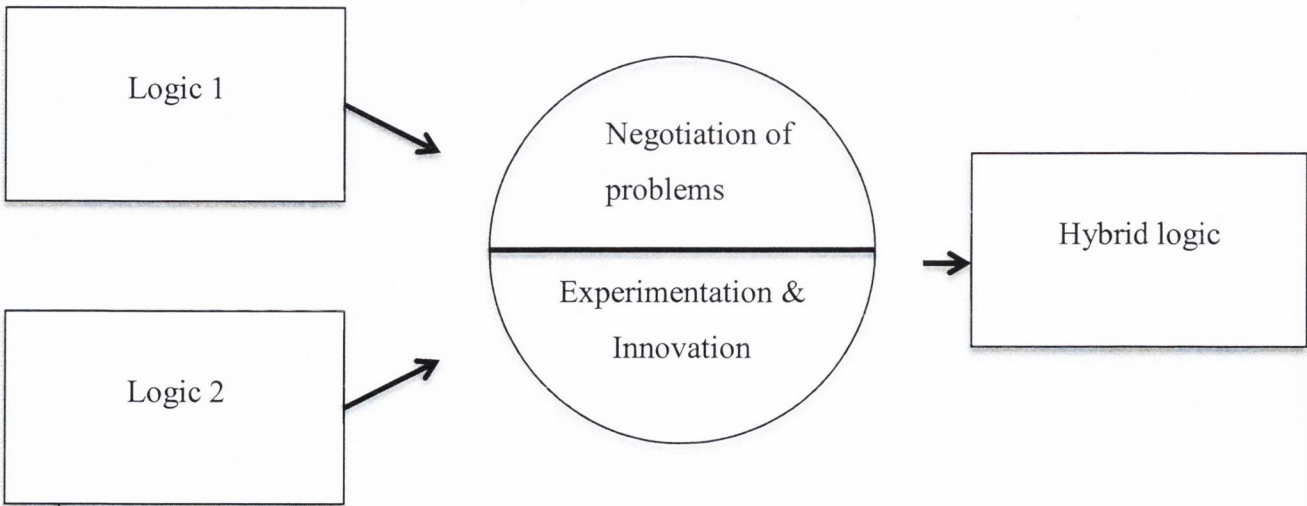
Studies have sought to bring in more strategic conceptions of actors who use logics by reflexively understanding the institutional context and employ strategies to enhance their legitimacy whilst also acknowledging how the institutional context influences the cognition of actors (e.g. Creed, Scully, & Austin, 2002). It is important to understand whether we are using the concept of logics to understand the available repertoires upon which actors can draw or whether we are using the concept of logics to understand how logics structure the beliefs and practices of actors. The following section contrasts a more strategic concept of institutional logics as proposed by McPherson & Sauder (2013) with a more ideological concept of institutional enchantment as described by (Friedland, 2009a).

2.4.1 *The toolkit perspective*

The toolkit perspective has given rise to a perspective on logics which accords a large degree of agency to individuals, often engaged in strategic or political struggles (McPherson & Sauder, 2013). Building on the work of Swidler (1986) they see culture not as a source of value-led goals or ends for people but rather as a repertoire of available strategies. Swidler (1986: 275) recommends that researchers of cultural influences refocus their efforts to explain action away from Parsonian type values systems;

“Students of culture keep looking for cultural values that will explain what is distinctive about the behavior of groups or societies, and neglect other distinctively cultural phenomena which offer greater promise of explaining patterns of action. These factors are better described as culturally-shaped skills, habits, and styles than as values or preferences.”

Figure 2.2 Interactions where actors create hybrid logics



Amongst those studying institutional complexity, logics are conceptualised on occasions as repertoires and/or ends (Greenwood et al., 2011), sometimes without a clear distinction being drawn. Institutional logics are sometimes “used” by actors strategically to advance their own interests by legitimating their activities (e.g. Creed, Scully, & Austin, 2002; Fligstein, 1997; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005). For others, logics are primarily belief systems which influence what they themselves hold as valuable ends worth prioritising and pursuing (e.g. Friedland, 2009a, 2012b). Thornton et al.’s (2012) decomposing of institutional elements from institutional orders, described above, gives a greater scope for agency and for entrepreneurs to pursue their interests by recombining these elements to fashion new logics as found by Smets et al. (2012). Thornton et al. (2012) draw on Swidler, (1986) to theorise how relatively stable institutional orders provide the cultural material for actors to adapt and fashion new practices as is illustrated in Figure 2.2.

Whereas Thornton et al. (2012) mitigate the toolkit approach by highlighting how institutional logics also embed goals, others such as McPherson & Sauder (2013: 167-168) focus more on the repertoires of action strategies that logics make available to actors to consciously choose from

“...we propose that logics serve as tools that can be used by actors in a contested environment to influence decisions, justify activities, or advocate for change. The same logic, for example, could be used in different situations to achieve opposite goals, and the same actor may choose to employ different logics at different times depending on the perceived needs of the immediate situation. In other words, although institutional logics are decidedly extra-individual, their construction, their transmission, and their use depend on people who themselves have interests, beliefs, and preferences...Conceiving of logics in this way has an obvious affinity to Swidler’s (1986) cultural toolkit approach...In short, it shows what actors do to logics as well as what logics do to people.”

In the above illustrations of logics being “used” by actors to pursue their self-interests it is not explicit whether these self-interests are in turn shaped by more fundamental institutional values which are widely shared or accepted or whether these interests are assumed to have an objective reality. Besharov & Smith (2014) highlight that studies which focus on how actors fuse or blend logics often focus on logics which are compatible and where actors are linked in relationships within organisations that require collective action.

“When members have close relationships to one another or are more interdependent, they are motivated to develop more compatible ways of enacting multiple logics (e.g., Smets et al., 2012). Doing so enables efficient and effective organizational action and fosters group cohesion (McPherson & Sauder, 2013). This increases logic compatibility within the organization, even as

the logics in question may remain incompatible at the field level.” (Besharov & Smith, 2014: 368)

One of important aspects of the study of logics which are used and blended in malleable ways by strategic actors, is that this fusing and blending often takes place amongst actors that share a more fundamental logic and have a common interpretation of the value of the goals that are at stake in terms of blending or adapting their action strategies (e.g. Smets et al., 2012).

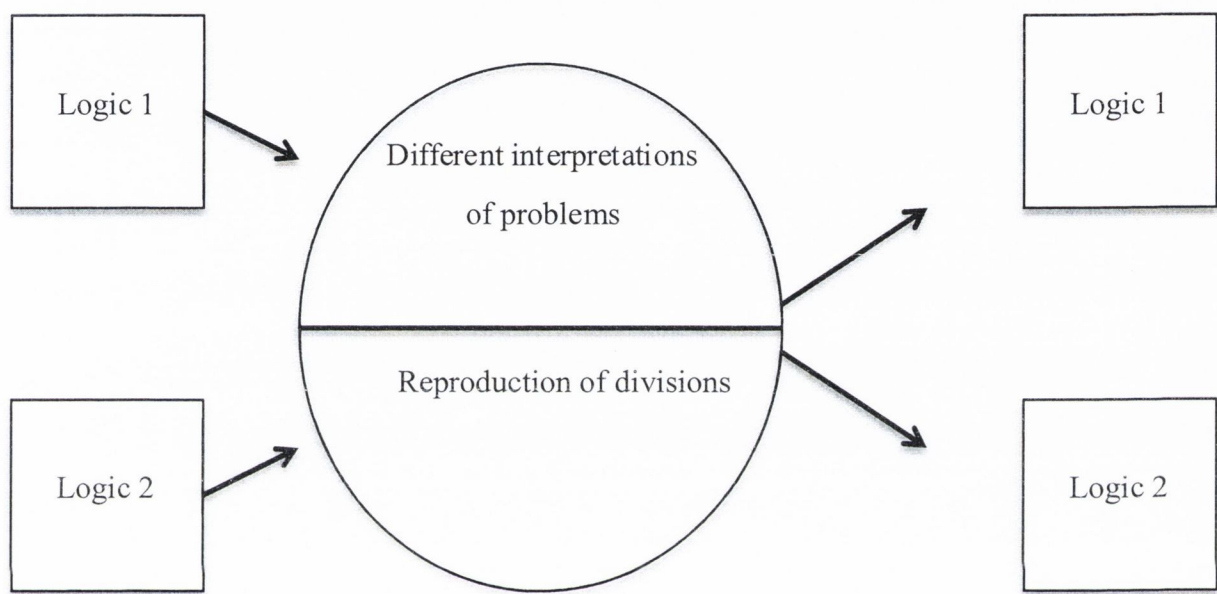
2.4.2 Ideological conceptions of logics

The above studies which draw upon Swidler (1986) to develop a toolkit approach to institutional logics rarely refer to the way Swidler (1986) in the second part of her article conceptualised culture as shaping goals during periods of fundamental contestation of within fields. Swidler (1986) refers to these periods within fields as “unsettled” periods of institutionalisation where different belief systems vie for dominance in ideological struggle. For fields which are more subject to on-going fundamental contestations of beliefs and practices and which lie at the interstices of institutional orders, it would seem important to explore how competing beliefs and practices are experienced and managed by individuals. Exploring more “incoherent” (Schneiberg & Clemens, 2006) fields where contestation is on-going and where institutional complexity is more enduring as described by Greenwood et al., (2011) than the settled periods of cultural hegemony envisaged by Swidler (1986) opens up more the possibility of studying of institutional logics which influence actors goals, action strategies and collective identities rather than providing them just with repertoires of action to achieve common cultural goals.

Thornton et al., (2012) argue that at the individual level institutional logics are constellations of goals, identities and action schema that are co-implicated and therefore that concepts of identity are central to how people cognitive makes sense of situations and develop action strategies. Their approach is cognitive and the concept of institutional enchantment as articulated by Friedland (2009a) is similar in that it influences individuals by providing them with a sense of reality and their place within that reality. In this dissertation, the concept of ideological enchantment is used to refer to strong adherence to institutional logics by individuals, where actors’ senses of their own identities, their cognitive reality in which goals and action strategies are ingrained, are closely bound together and shared with a wider group of individuals. Figure 2.3 illustrates that the prevailing ideological logics are reproduced as different groups “substantiate” these logics in their practices (Friedland, 2012a). The logics

are enduring contexts for interactions in which the different groups have fundamentally different interpretations of the problems to be addressed. The interactions do not lead to new logics but rather reproduce existing divisions. This approach to institutional logics as sources of ideological enchantment can be contrasted with a toolkit approach which focuses on how logics are used or are available to actors and where institutional logics are more malleable and consciously used and adapted by actors (e.g. McPherson & Sauder, 2013).

Figure 2.3 Interactions within a context of ideological adherence to different logics



Besharov & Smith (2014) highlight that researchers offer a variety of conclusions in terms of how institutional complexity influences organisations ranging from contestation (Battilana & Dorado, 2010), to improvisation (Smets et al., 2012). Besharov & Smith (2014) argue that there are some logics that are compatible and central to a field and that there is a need for much greater conceptual clarity when using institutional logics. They argue that institutional complexity influences organisations in different ways with some logics being more compatible than others.

Table 2.1 outlines some of the main strands of institutional research outlined above, contrasting some of the different approaches to studying logics that have been reviewed. There is a need for a clearer understanding of how institutional complexity influences actors at the level of the individual. Studies which explore the simultaneous influence of institutional logics on actors and have tended to do so in fields with coherent groups of professionals and

often assumed that logics are carried by these professional groups (Goodrick & Reay, 2011). There is a need to study this adherence to logics to develop a clearer understanding of how logics influence individuals and to study these in action in order to answer the research question set out in Chapter 1.

Table 2.1 – Overview of different approaches to understanding how actors experience institutional complexity

Different perspectives on institutional logics		Influence of logics on action	Domain of influence of logics	Implications for studying interactions	Seminal articles
Extent of institutional complexity	Dominant logics	Deterministic and changing over long periods of time	Coherent, fields with logics changing overtime	Changes in dominant logics measure through proxies over time	(Haveman & Rao, 1997; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999)
	Multiple logics	Greater reflexivity & choice possible but often assumed that different logics determine different sets of interpretations and actions	Coherent fields structured into multiple groups assumed to carry logics	Prevalence of different logics measured as context for study interactions	(Dunn & Jones, 2010; Goodrick & Reay, 2011; Reay & Hinings, 2009a; Seo & Creed, 2002)
Approach to understanding institutional logics	Abstracted	Influence emanates from institutional orders with beliefs and practices tightly coupled	Spheres of value that provide meaning to reality	Start with institutional orders and explore their influences through the prevalence of practices or forms	(Haveman & Rao, 1997; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999)
	Grounded	Interactions where meanings of logics are interpreted and	Individuals interact and socially construct shared meaning,	Start with interactions and inductively derive the salient	(Mair & Hehenberger, 2014; Smets et

		framed	within institutionalised contexts	interpretations and explore how these interpretations influence actions	al., 2012)
Extent to which actors use logics or logics use actors	Toolkits	Logics more external to the actor and used by the actor in both unreflexive and strategic ways	Interactive fields where actors use the logics to advance their interests	Study how actors blend, change and compartmentalise the prevailing institutional logics to a certain degree within fields	(McPherson & Sauder, 2013; Rao, Monin, & Durand, 2005; Roy Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005)
	Ideological	Logics sources of passionate identification and close adherence to the logics by individuals	Interactive fields where actor's interests and interpretations are defined and divided by the logics which they promote	Study the interactions within fields as the logics are contested and explore how meanings unite and divide actors. These interactions are shaped by actors cognitive and emotional adherence to the logics	(Friedland, 2009a)

In the next section the conceptualisation of institutional logics at the level of the individual, which is used in this study is explained. In order to enable the possibility of a more fragmented, ambiguous picture of institutional influence to emerge a compatible theoretical lens of cultural fragmentation is then introduced.

2.5 The conceptualisation of how institutional complexity influences individuals used in this dissertation

For Thornton et al. (2012) institutional logics need to be understood and empirically analysed at the macro social and field levels and micro-level beliefs and practices of individuals. These individual level constructs are activated in turn by salient institutional logics as individuals

discuss, debate, agree and disagree on decisions and then mobilise others to action. Despite the fact that institutional logics research has become a vibrant discipline within organisational theory (Lounsbury & Boxenbaum, 2013), this strand of exploring the micro-processes of how logics influence collective action is still relatively new, and according to Friedland, (2009a: 78).

“the conditions under which particular ideas and identities mobilize large numbers of people to enact their projects and transform the world are largely unexplored territories”.

It would seem therefore that Thornton et al.’s (2012) model of how logics are activated at the individual level provides a good starting point for conceptualising at a micro level how logics influence action, albeit an approach which has not yet been developed empirically to any great degree (Zilber, 2013). The theoretical framework developed by Thornton et al. (2012) posits that institutional logics influence individuals through goals, identities, and schemas.

2.5.1 Goals

As is outlined above, the institutional logics perspective as articulated by Thornton et al. (2012) mitigates the toolkit approach by embedding within institutional logics goals that are co-implicated with action schema and identities. Many of the studies of institutional logics referenced above highlight how shifting institutional logics lead to shifts in goals of actors. Whilst the micro-processes are not spelled out it is often assumed that shifts in logics lead towards very different end goals. Haveman & Rao (1997) for example illustrate how banking moved from a thrift industry, which emphasised the moral virtues of saving to a commercial business, which emphasised profit. The goals are “activated” when they become socially salient (Thornton et al., 2012).

2.5.2 Collective identities

Identification and identity are key concepts which help explain what institutional logics are and how they influence actors (Creed, DeJordy, & Lok, 2010; Friedland, 2012b; Lok, 2010; Thornton et al., 2012; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). Thornton et al. (2012) use the concept of how social identity draws together the psychological social identity theory which focuses on the cognitive implications of group or category membership (e.g. Hogg & Terry, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and sociological identity theory which draws on identification with social roles (e.g. Stryker & Burke, 2000). The first strand focuses more on the natural tendency of

humans to seek to belong to groups and the influences that this has on cognition, whilst the latter strand focuses on symbolic interactionism and the influence which the available or salient cultural roles have on individual's identities (Stryker & Burke, 2000; Stryker, 2008). As Thornton et al. (2012) outline, the two strands overlap in institutional logics research. People for example, can both be members of professional groups whilst being influenced by the social salience and/or attractiveness of these roles.

Collective identity refers to the "who are we as a group question" (Cerulo, 1997) as well as positing a sense of collective agency (Hunt & Benford, 2004). Whereas within organisational research the organisation has been given pride of place as a source of identification (Albert, Ashforth, & Dutton, 2000; Hatch & Schultz, 2002; Pratt et al., 2000), the institutional logics perspective expands the analysis to focus on how wider social context influences identification (Glynn, 2000) and how logics operate across these different levels and constrain and enable interactions (Glynn, 2008; Lok, 2010). The institutional logics perspective of Thornton et al. (2012) as part of their overall effort to integrate approaches to structure and agency seek to bring both of these strands of social identity research together to illustrate both context and process. Following Thornton et al. (2012), the concept of identity will be operationalised in this study as actors' interpretations of their social roles and the collective groups they see themselves as part of or prioritise in terms of collective action.

2.5.3 Action Schema

Action schemas contain strategies that are taken for granted as a way to act under certain conditions (Thornton et al. 2012). Action schemas are the way in which individuals adopt rules to process and react to complex information by drawing on abstracted information in terms of how the world works. This concept of schema is similar to scripts as defined by Barley & Tolbert (1997)

"Scripts are observable, recurrent activities and patterns of interaction of a particular setting"
(Barley & Tolbert, 1997: 98)

This linkage between schema and scripts made by Thornton et al. (2012) is important from an empirical perspective in this dissertation in that it enables a study of the action strategies that are taken for granted and culturally embedded within institutional logics. Action schema also are closely related to the interpretative dimension of collective frames (Benford & Snow, 2000) and sensemaking (K. Weber & Glynn, 2006; Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005;

Weick, 2001). In this dissertation the term action strategies will be used to denote the taken for granted actions embedded within institutional logics.

2.6 The fragmentation perspective – widening the lens to include ambiguity

As is outlined above, the possibility of individuals being more ambiguously attracted to multiple competing goals, identities and strategies is assumed away at the start of the much institutional logics research. For March (1978) goal ambiguity is not an imperfection to be corrected but something that needs to be understood as a form of intelligence. As March, (1978:596) argues

“We confound our preferences. Our deepest preferences tend often to be paired. We find the same outcome both attractive and repulsive, not in the sense that the two sentiments cancel each other and we remain indifferent, but precisely that we simultaneously want and do not want an outcome, experience it as both pleasure and pain, love and hate it.”

Despite the importance which is attributed to ambiguity in understanding how actors interpret contexts and develop action strategies (Cohen, March, & Olsen, 1972; March, 1978; Weick, 1979, 2006) and the centrality of conflicting institutional logics in constituting individual choices (Friedland & Alford, 1991) it is largely ignored in empirical work in the institutional logics literature.

We would argue that the bases of individual and organisational autonomy and some of their most characteristic internal tensions, derive from the contradictory relationships between institutions. Thus the ancient Greek dramatists first represented individual choice through role conflict, as in the case of Sophocles Antigone who is torn between familial duty to bury her brother and political obligation not to bury a traitor (Friedland & Alford, 1991: 255)

In order to be open to a more fragmented conception of institutional logics where actors might have multiple, conflicting enchantments the fragmented culture work of Joanne Martin (e.g. Martin, 1992, 2002) is drawn upon to illustrate how cultural complexity is experienced at the level of individual actors. Martin’s work builds on March’s (Cohen et al., 1972; March & Olsen, 1976; March, 1978) approach to ambiguity and extends it beyond inconsistency in choices and uses ambiguity to explore how individuals make sense of organisational life in fragmented ways.

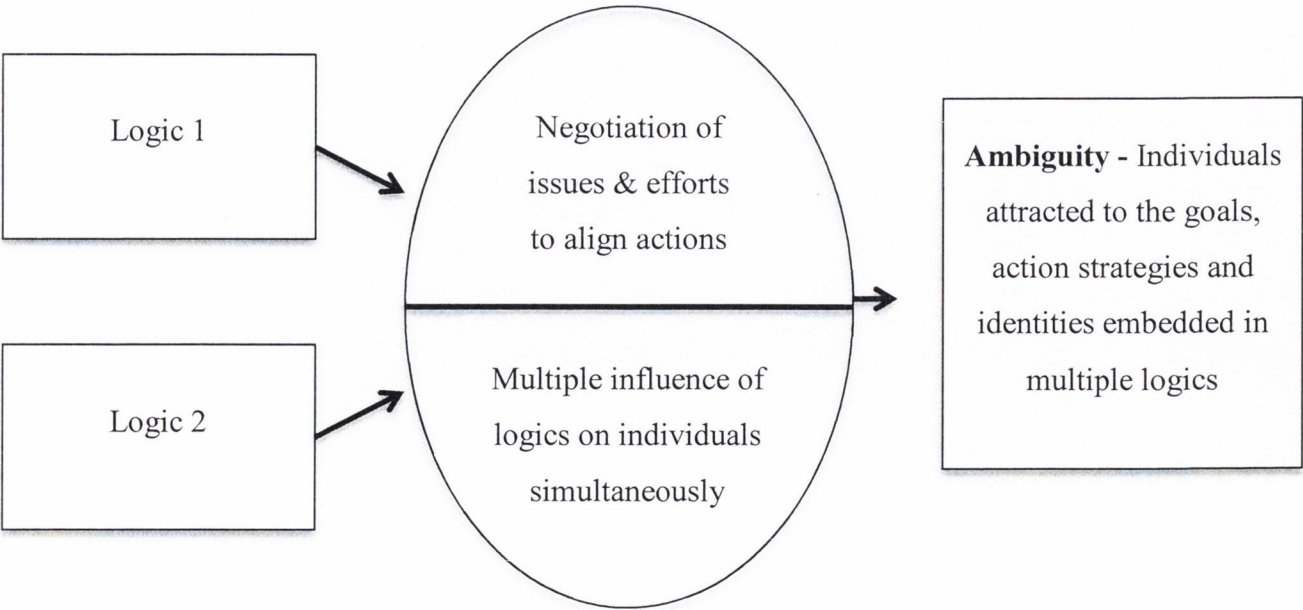
Studies that adopt a fragmentation perspective on culture adhere to the view that ambiguity is a central aspect of how cultures influence individuals (Martin, 1992). From this perspective, beliefs and practices do not neatly coalesce into divided groups. A variety of interpretations are possible of incidents and ambiguity can persist within and across organisations. This

perspective is analysed in Martin (1992, 2002) as one of three perspectives; integration, differentiation and fragmentation. Given that institutional logics are often described in shorthand as “cultural systems of beliefs and rules that structure cognition and guide action” (Lounsbury, 2007), it would seem appropriate to draw on theories of cultural fragmentation (Martin, 1992; Meyerson & Martin, 1987) to theorise how individuals experience multiple logics. According to Martin (1992: 155-156)

When differences in categories are acknowledged, the boundaries of subcultures become diffuse, permeable, and fluctuating. Because these boundaries are subjectively construed and socially constructed, one person sees them differently than another. Subcultures overlap, they are nested within each other, and they intersect in the individual...The self is fragmented by a variety of nested overlapping identities, external influences, and levels of consciousness.

As is illustrated in figure 2.4 the fragmentation perspective has the potential to shine a light on how institutional complexity is experienced by individuals. It builds on the emerging strand of research exploring how individuals are influenced by institutional complexity (Jarzabkowski et al., 2013; Pache & Santos, 2013) but illuminates the potential ambiguity created by the multiple goals, identities and action strategies embedded within the salient logics. It also allows for less “skilful” responses to institutional complexity than the ambidexterity described by Jarzabkowski et al., (2013) or the hybridising entrepreneurship outlined by Pache & Santos (2013) and focuses more purposefully on the ambiguity, confusion and conflicts internal to the individual that these environments can create and the implications of these for collective organising.

Figure 2.4 – Institutional complexity and ambiguity



The next sections focus on previous research on efforts to construct collective action within fields and explore what is known about strategic efforts to construct collective action in situations of institutional complexity. The various strands of literature on constructing collective action, with a particular emphasis on the previous research on how institutions provide the context for these interactions and are influenced by these interactions.

2.7 Attempting to construct collective action in institutionally complex fields

The most significant research on the impact of institutions on the construction of collective action was carried out primarily by varying combinations of the authors Cynthia Hardy, Nelson Phillips and Thomas Lawrence over the period 1997 to 2004 (Hardy, Lawrence, & Phillips, 1998; Hardy et al., 2003; Hardy & Phillips, 1998, 1999; Lawrence, Hardy, & Phillips, 2002; Lawrence, Phillips, & Hardy, 1999; Lawrence & Phillips, 2004; Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Phillips et al., 2000, 2004). The relevant features of this literature for this dissertation are

- 1) The focus on collaboration in interorganisational domain
- 2) An interest in exploring the influence of taken for granted institutions on the construction of collaboration (and conflict)
- 3) An emphasis on social construction and symbolic interactionism (building on negotiated order theory) as actors struggle to define the issues which will be prioritised, how these issues will be addressed and in turn reshape and change the institutional context
- 4) An interest in how actors both use available resources in terms of formal authority, scarce resources and discursive legitimacy and are constrained by the prevailing power dynamics within fields
- 5) Use of nonprofit organisations as empirical sites for much of this work

Collaboration is defined by Lawrence et al., (2002) and (1999) and Phillips et al., (2000) as a cooperative interorganisational relationship that is negotiated on an on-going basis and does not require the coordination of the market or formal authority. Actors construct both collaboration and conflict (Hardy & Phillips, 1998). Rather than emphasising strategic alignment as an objective stage of integration, the focus is the institutional context and how it influences actors as they construct cooperative interorganisational relationships (Lawrence et

al., 2002). The uncertainty that the absence of the highly institutionalised structures of the market and formal authority create means that the interactions are based on institutional rules and practices which need to be constructed during the interactions and which are drawn from more macro-cultural discourses or institutions but which are translated to the local setting.

Drawing on the symbolic interactionist approach of negotiated order theory (e.g. Gray, 1989) Lawrence et al. (1999) conceptualise collaboration as an on-going accomplishment, which is constrained and enabled by the societal level discourses. For Lawrence et al. (1999) collaboration has antecedents which are defined as concepts and objects which have been defined by previous interactions and which have become institutionalised. Similar to Blumer (1971), these problems are not lying there waiting for actors with shared interests but rather need to be constructed.

“The potential for collaboration lies not in trust or the existence of shared problems but rather in the ability of participants to negotiate a set of shared understandings of issues, interests and identities that provide a sufficient framework for concerted understandings and action.” (Lawrence et al., 1999: 499).

Hardy et al. (1998: 67) make the case that collective action requires the construction of common interpretations through discursive interactions

“Individual chains of conversational experiences over time re-create people’s cognitive beliefs about social structure and, in turn promote collective action based on these tacit understandings and meanings. If however, no such myth or shared meaning arises, the conversation will not be sustained and collective action will not ensue.”

Similarly, Phillips et al. (2000) claim that collaboration is shaped upon the prevailing institutions within fields. These institutions are refracted or filtered through the prevailing power dynamics and influence the interactions that take place as actors negotiate the nature of the problem to be addressed and the collaborative practices and membership which in turn then gives rise to both reproduction and innovation which results in an amended set of power and institutional structures within fields. Dominant members of the field will have greater formal authority, resources and discursive legitimacy and the rules and resources of the collaboration will be drawn predominantly from the institutional fields of the dominant members (Phillips et al., 2000). Lawrence et al. (2002) using the case of a children’s health nonprofit in Palestine, illustrate how collaboration can give rise to changes within field level institutions when the models of collaboration diffuse into wider practices in the field.

Hardy & Phillips (1998) highlight that being dominant in one domain (e.g. control over scarce resources) does not mean that you have dominance in the fields as a whole. In their study of discursive struggle amongst nonprofit and state actors in the UK immigration field they outline how different organisations can have power based on varying combinations of money, formal authority and discursive legitimacy. They illustrate how a nonprofit organisation with discursive legitimacy can have an impact on a field even though it is in contestation and conflict with other organisations that have more formal authority and material resources (Hardy & Phillips, 1998).

The use of nonprofit examples in this work is also interesting in that by existing outside of the heavily institutionalised realms of the market and the state (i.e. the market and formal authority described by Lawrence et al., (1999) and Phillips et al., (2000)) some of the activities of these nonprofit organisations could be seen as good sites to study the institutional complexity inherent in collective action. That said, Hardy et al. (2003) highlight that many of the lessons from researching nonprofit collaboration are transferable to other types of organisations.

“While not-for-profit organizations do not compete in the traditional sense, they do compete for funding, for clients and for government approval. Given these similarities between voluntary and business sectors, there is no reason why businesses would not benefit from collaboration in a similar way to *Mere et Enfant*.” (Hardy et al., 2003)

Hardy, Lawrence, & Grant (2005) explore the relationship between constructing collective action and discursively constructing collective identities. This work shares a similar interest in exploring the institutional context of collaboration with some of the work discussed above, but focuses more on how collective identities are drawn upon in these interactions. The article focuses on the construction of collective action through the construction by actors of common problems or issues in need of action (i.e. generalised membership ties) and connections to each other in terms of addressing the issues (i.e. particularised membership ties). They see collective identities as constructed discursively through conversations and that collective action is based on these ties. The article draws on Benford & Snow’s (2000) approach to collective action framing when discussing the construction of diagnostic problems and prognostic strategies and mobilisation efforts. Interestingly Hardy et al. (2005) see tensions and ambiguity as part of the necessary, on-going construction of collective action

“While representational perspectives of language and communication “view ambiguity as a problem to be solved,” a discursive approach “treats ambiguity as an opportunity to challenge, skirt, and reinvent received knowledge” (Eisenberg, 1998: 97). Thus, the innovation associated with

effective collaboration is fueled by the ambiguity that emerges out of the simultaneous production of common and private constructions.” (Hardy et al., 2005: 68)

This literature highlights that the institutional context of processes of interaction can be studied to reveal how institutions influence the cognition of individual actors and in particular influence the types of goals they prioritise, the strategies they adopt to pursue these goals and the collective identities they develop. There is a need though to tie this literature in with the institutional complexity literature discussed above which analyses how institutional complexity influences collective action and to use methods of analysing interactive processes which allow more fragmented images of fields to emerge.

2.8 Collective action framing – the construction of collective action within institutional contexts

Within the social movement tradition there has been an increased focus on how individuals interpret and share meaning using the concept of framing (Benford & Snow, 2000; Benford, 1997; Snow et al., 1986; Steinberg, 1998). Campbell (2005:42) argues that scholars might take the call for integration between social movement research and organisation studies

“...more seriously if they appreciated...that the organizations and social movements literatures already have developed striking similarities. Given the extent of these similarities, blending the insights from these literatures is not an especially radical or difficult analytical move.”

Drawing on earlier work by symbolic interactionists, on how social problems do not objectively exist and are socially constructed (e.g. Blumer, 1971) social movement researchers explore, using framing approaches, how people are discursively moved to join collective action efforts (Della Porta & Diani, 2006; P. Oliver, 2013). In social movement theory, the goals, strategies and collective identities of movement actors are of central concern when studying the construction of collective action (Dewulf et al., 2009). As Della Porta & Diani, (2006: 26) highlight, it is important within social movement research to appreciate

“Individual participation is essential for movements, and one of their characteristics is, indeed, the sense of being involved in a collective endeavour – without having automatically to belong to a specific organisation.”

Most studies of collective action framing focus on the framing by social movement actors to the wider public or specific constituencies (Benford & Snow, 2000; Snow et al., 1986). This dissertation is focused on the construction of collective action in organisational fields and the focus is on framing within the organisational fields rather than on the process of framing to

grassroots activists or the wider public. The construction of collective action amongst individuals who are involved in organisations, however involves also acts of interpretation and interaction. As is discussed in greater detail below, the collective action framing literature is primarily drawn upon to explore organisational actors' interpretations and expressions of shared goals, collective identities and action strategies as they interact.

Collective action framing processes involve both 1) an interpretation of the situation and the appropriate responses and 2) efforts to strategically advocate for these interpretations to be adopted by others. For Campbell (2005: 49)

“Frames are metaphors, symbols, and cognitive cues that cast issues in a particular light and suggest possible ways to respond to these issues. Framing involves the strategic creation and manipulation of shared understandings and interpretations of the world, its problems, and viable courses of action. Framing is a cognitive mechanism of social change insofar as it affects how actors perceive their interests, identities and possibilities for change.”

We can see from the above definition that frames are both “schemata of interpretation” (Goffman, 1974: 21) which help actors make sense of situations and repertoires to be used strategically by actors who are engaged in “the politics of signification” (Hall, 1982) in discursive, political struggles over meaning (Benford & Snow, 2000). This interpretative component also corresponds closely with the sensemaking literature (Czarniawska, 2006; Fiss & Hirsch, 2005). The sensegiving is usually in more politically charged contexts where there is contestation and is often considered to be strategic (Fiss & Hirsch, 2005; McAdam et al., 1996; Thornton et al., 2012) and language is used to encourage some interpretations and discourage others (Green & Li, 2011). Benford & Snow (2000) divide framing processes into three core tasks; prognostic (what problem should be prioritised), diagnostic (what should be done) and mobilisation (motivating people to act). Similarly Gamson (1992) claims that all frames need to outline an injustice, ascribe agency and draw on identities.

The collective action framing literature given its roots in social movement theory, focuses on how fragmented contested orders emerge from interactions and shines a light on the different, competing beliefs within fields (Lounsbury, Ventresca, & Hirsch, 2003; Schneiberg & Lounsbury, 2008). In this way collective action framing processes highlight the shared and distinctive interpretations of actors as they discuss problems to be addressed, how those problems should be addressed and who should address them (Benford & Snow, 2000; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989) without necessarily any agreement being reached. Schneiberg & Lounsbury (2008: 665-666) argue that the social movement literature, within which

collective action framing has developed, provides an important lens for understanding how different interpretations and contestation influence action within institutional contexts;

“This conceptualization of institutionalization and fields as multiple, fragmented and contested is a crucial ontological starting point for a new wave and generation of institutional scholars.”

The definition of collective action used within social movement theory relates to any activity, which mobilises actors to act in groups or with other people, and is the “nuts and bolts” of how people come to act together for common purposes. Collective action is broadly defined within social movement theory and is not limited by purposes or forms (P. Oliver, 2004: 210).

In this dissertation, collective action is defined as the result of interactive processes where actors interpret aspects of shared goals, strategies and collective identities sufficiently to engage in agreed action strategies. The collective action framing literature illustrates how actors during interactive processes can partially and temporarily align frames by building bridges between them to enable collective action to take place (Benford & Snow, 2000; D. A. Snow et al., 1986). Collective action in this definition does not require a priori that actors have constructed a common interpretation of goals, collective identities and action strategies but rather that there is a sufficient level of overlapping aspects of interpretations co-created during interactions to enable actors to act collectively. This enables a more incoherent picture of fields with institutional complexity to be studied where ambiguity can be an on-going, integral part of constructing collective action, as suggested by Hardy et al. (2005). That is, the collective action does not necessarily require common interpretations, just sufficient alignment for collective action to take place and the extent to which interpretations overlap is considered a matter for empirical investigation.

The concepts of institutional logics and collective action framing are highly compatible according to McAdam & Scott (2005:16)

“The concept of institutional logics connects to that of framing processes. Both refer to ideas and belief systems, and recognize the role they play in providing direction, motivation, meaning and coherence. However, the former tends to emphasize the power of dominant ideologies and shared cognitive frameworks whereas the later stresses challenging ideologies and conflicting beliefs and values.”

The terms master frame is used by Snow & Benford (1992) to refer to more macro, abstract belief systems which influence action and would seem to overlap to a certain extent with the concept of institutional logics (Thornton et al., 2012). Whilst frames are often used to study

purposeful efforts to change institutions, they also illuminate the salient institutional logics operating within fields (Creed et al., 2002). According to R. Meyer & Hammerschmid (2006) institutional logics have “framing cues” which provide insights into the salient institutional logics by highlighting the frames of reference that actors identify with and employ in a field. Frames are grounded in actual processes as actors seek to negotiate roles and identities and construct social groupings (Lefsrud & Meyer, 2012).

Collective action framing studies explore the interactive processes by which actors are both influenced by and draw upon institutionalised systems of meaning to construct collective action. The process of frame alignment describes efforts by actors to mobilise actors with different interpretations of problems to work collectively (Benford & Snow, 2000; Snow et al., 1986). Snow et al. (1986) describe these efforts as frame bridging, amplification, extension and transformation. Snow et al. (1986) cites the example of the alignment on the political right in the United States between the National Rifle Association and Christian Right to illustrate how actors can build bridges across different ideologies to act collectively. Frame amplification refers to efforts by actors to highlight particular goals and beliefs and efforts to promote the needs of certain groups (Snow et al., 1986). Frame extension refers to the desire to extend existing franchises to neglected groups or causes. (Snow et al., 1986). Finally frame transformation refers to efforts to radically transform the global interpretative frame of actors (Snow et al., 1986), similar to efforts to radically re-orientate institutional logics. These interactive processes are the ways in which social movement theory conceptualises how people are mobilised to engage in collective action and these frame alignment processes are heavily intertwined with discursive attempts to construct collective identities (Hardy et al., 2005; Hunt & Benford, 2004; Snow et al., 1986).

Creed, Scully, & Austin (2002), using a case of discursive struggles over gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender employees in a non-discrimination debate, illustrate that frame alignment efforts draw on available identities from within the prevailing institutional logics but do so in a way to legitimise their own positions. They find that institutional logics have an influence over the frames, which people adopt, but more in the sense of providing cultural building blocks that people draw upon. The logics are multiple and contradictory. This complexity provides opportunities for people to draw upon frames in ways that strategically advance their interests.

Armstrong (2005) studies the interactions of gay rights organisations in the San Francisco area in the period 1969 to 1973 and in particular their move from being part of a wider social justice movement to incorporating themselves into more single identity issues with more limited objectives focused on specifically the gay and lesbian community. She finds that this was in part due to the stabilising of the field due to the wider macro social and political developments, which limited the opportunities for collective action amongst organisations to achieve change within the United States. She concludes that the framing efforts of the organisations need to be understood within the wider institutional logics prevalent at the time and calls for more research to understand better how framing processes are influenced by these wider logics. This would suggest that using institutional logics and collective action framing as complementary perspective is necessary to capture both the institutional logics which structure the cognition of actors as well as to study interactions as they attempt to construct collective action.

Organisational competition is also found to be important in efforts to construct collective action. In a study of organisations within Italian social movements, Tarrow (1989) found that competition between originally aligned organisations led to division and fragmentation, with the organisations emphasising their ideological differences by the end of the 1970s. In other situations, the competition between organisations is understood to be legitimate and interorganisational relationships do not fragment as a result of this competition. Staggenborg (1991) study of the women's movement in the United States supporting abortion rights for example, found that the organisations were able to compete and simultaneously construct interorganisational collective action based on compatible ideologies. The construction of collective action by leaders across organisations is often ad hoc and time limited and focused on discrete areas of interaction (Della Porta & Diani, 2006).

This review of the collective action framing literature highlights that institutional theory has drawn on the social movement literature to explore contestation within fields. Social movement theory focuses primarily on the mobilisation of individuals and groups within society and the framing literature is the main approach used to exploring how people get mobilised into acting collectively. The social movement research, which has analysed organisational fields, points to the importance of understanding the institutional context and competition between organisations for resources.

2.9 Previous research on attempts to construct collective action in nonprofit fields

The purpose of this section is to set out the different approaches to understanding the construction of collective action in nonprofit fields. Studies that explore the instigation of interorganisational collective action within fields are reviewed and the different theoretical perspectives and empirical evidence on the role of funders in these processes are discussed.

2.9.1 Defining nonprofit organisations

Salamon, Anheier, Toepler, & Sokolowski (1999: 3-4) claim that nonprofit organisations are distinguished by the following characteristics;

- Organisations, i.e., they have an institutional presence and structure;
- Private, i.e., they are institutionally separate from the state;
- Not profit distributing, i.e., they do not return profits to their managers or to a set of “owners”;
- Self-governing, i.e., they are fundamentally in control of their own affairs;
- Voluntary, i.e., membership in them is not legally required and they attract some level of voluntary contribution of time or money.

Nonprofit organisations span a wide range of fields of activity internationally and play important roles both as membership organisations and as public benefit charities (Anheier, 2005; Galaskiewicz & Bielefeld, 1998). It is this latter role or type of organisation, which is of most interest to this dissertation as the organisations featured in the empirical work are charitable nonprofit organisations. The reason for selecting nonprofit organisations is that they have objectives which ostensibly overlap given the scale and complexity of the problems they address (Hardy et al., 2003; Trist, 1983) and there are often efforts to instigate collaboration amongst them, motivated by desires to see alignment amongst available resources to address social problems (e.g. Austin, 2000; Bailey & McNally Koney, 2000; Mandell & Keast, 2008; Pietroburgo & Wernet, 2004), avoid duplication and reduce costs as available funding contracts (Campbell, 2009; Golensky & DeRuiter, 1999) and/or enhance control over available resources to increase the power of the organisation (Galaskiewicz & Bielefeld, 1998; R. Steinberg, 1993; Tsasis, 2009). The structural forms which this collaboration can take vary from affiliations to full structural integration through mergers between organisations (Bailey & McNally Koney, 2000). The focus of this dissertation is on

how institutional logics influence how actors socially construct collective goals, strategies and identities, rather than on the structural form this collective action takes¹. The emphasis is therefore on reviewing the literature, which illuminates how systems of beliefs and practice influence the construction of collective action.

Some argue that what motivates nonprofit organisations is similar to their for profit counterparts and that they compete for funding and are driven, in part by resource enhancement (Galaskiewicz & Bielefeld, 1998) and that this desire to enhance and control resources can trump the public benefit goals which they espouse (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1974). Many have found that nonprofit organisations exhibit a range of competing goals (e.g. Billis, 2010) and that these competing goals are influenced by social institutions (e.g. Battilana & Dorado, 2010) which require the organisations to engage in a complex combination of public benefit and resource enhancement goals (Galaskiewicz & Bielefeld, 1998). They therefore provide a potentially rich site for studying actors who are subject to influences from a range of institutional logics (Knutsen & Brower, 2010; Knutsen, 2012). Previous research has highlighted that no one theory (e.g. resource dependence, pursuit of legitimacy) explains the motivations of actors in nonprofit collaborations (Galaskiewicz & Bielefeld, 1998; Guo & Acar, 2005; Tsasis, 2009) but rather more complex sets of goals operate within fields. Nonprofit organisations would therefore seem to be a good location to study how institutional complexity influences efforts to construct collective action.

2.9.2 The perception of the need for alignment of resources amongst nonprofit organisations

Strategic management focuses on the choices which organisational actors make in interacting with their environment to leverage competitive strengths of their organisations to maximise their profits (Porter, 1980, 1996). The principles of strategic management have achieved a certain taken for granted status in terms of practices with the nonprofit sector (Hwang & Powell, 2009) and more specifically within the prevailing practices of funders (Patrizi & Thompson, 2011). One of the most noted changes in organising belief systems has been the rise of what has become known as “business” approaches within the nonprofit sector, often without this phrase being unpacked (Dart, 2004). As Hwang & Powell (2009: 289) highlight

¹ Given the social constructionist approach which underpins the study, the structures of collective action are of interest to the extent they illuminate how actors are constructing meaning but are not seen as “objective” entities.

these institutional pressures emanate from the wider social cognitive assumptions and values about what a professional organisation should look like;

“Rationalization opens up organizations to multitudes of institutional pressures and expectations, and nonprofits become interpenetrated with and further subject to changes in the external environment.”

The nonprofit strategic management practice literature that has developed often assumes that an increased level of collaboration is required to solve intractable social problems (Margerum, 2011). Austin (2000:1) for example claims, “the twenty-first century will be the age of alliances”. Bailey & McNally Koney (2000) highlight that the vocabulary of nonprofit collective action is described by a variety of terms. Coming at the subject from a strategic management perspective they use the term strategic alliance to describe a continuum from cooperation to coordination to collaboration to coadunation, with the intensity or closeness of the alliance being measured in terms of the structural form it takes. They see six theoretical perspectives on interorganisational relationships; resource interdependence, social responsibility, strategic enhancement, environmental validity, operational validity, operational efficiency and domain influence (Bailey & McNally Koney, 2000). What unites studies of nonprofit alliances or collaboration from the strategic management perspective is the focus on the rational choices which the organisations make to enhance their impact (Arsenault, 1998; Austin, 2000; Benton & Austin, 2010; Margerum, 2011). In Bailey & McNally Koney's (2000) approach, the institutional environment is seen as a one potential motivation for collaborating to (e.g. to achieve legitimacy in a domain) but the ways the institutional environment enables and constrains these choices are not explored.

2.9.3 Strategic management and facilitating the construction of collective action

This literature focuses often on building consensus and mobilising actors rather than examining how belief systems influence how problems are socially constructed. Often there is a heavy emphasis on convening all of the groups that have an interest or a stake in the issue (Susskind & Cruikshank, 1987) and a bias towards inclusion in terms of selecting stakeholders often with an impartial convenor favoured as the actor who convenes the group (Carlson, 1999). Margerum (2011) claims that cultural difference can increase the extent to which people will perceive problems in different ways, which in turn can reduce the chances of successful collaboration. His perspective is based on rational choice theory (i.e. Ostrom, 2007). He believes that the challenges of convening actors from different cultural beliefs will

be more likely to overcome when groups reach a “hurting stalemate” where the potential benefits of collective action outweigh the costs (Margerum, 2011: 52). Others place more of an emphasis on reframing approaches for instigating collective solutions to social problems, where collective action can be instigated by facilitative techniques such as scenario planning (Kahane, 2004, 2010). The primary focus in all of these approaches is on processes, which involve convening groups of stakeholders, usually broadly defined to construct and implement collective action through a variety of facilitative techniques.

Whilst the challenges of encouraging collaboration amongst nonprofit actors with different interpretations of problems and solutions are described (Benton & Austin, 2010; Heifetz, Kania, & Kramer, 2004; Kahane, 2004, 2010), there is an emphasis on processes to align actors into collective action and it is often assumed that these interpretations are relatively malleable and capable of being reframed. Primarily successful cases are used to build theory and inform practice (Margerum, 2011). Underlying all these approaches to the construction of collective action is that there is a shared set of goals and overlapping strategies that can objectively benefit from greater alignment across nonprofit organisations. Whilst some of the approaches to facilitating alliances accord a heavy emphasis on the need for actors to reframe and interact to jointly construct this shared value (e.g. Kahane, 2004, 2010), there is an underlying objective reality to the need to overcome misalignments of interpretations and to enhance the overlapping social missions and minimise costs and duplication of effort.

2.9.4 The perceived need for the funder in nonprofit fields to instigate collective action within the strategic management literature

Michael Porter co-authored an article on foundation strategy in 1999, which drew on his work on competition and strategy (Porter and Kramer, 1999). The authors presented a framework for thinking systematically about how foundations create value and how the various approaches to value creation can be deployed within the context of an overarching strategy. Hirschhorn & Gilmore (2004) suggest ways for funders to think about a portfolio of grants as an investment strategy to affect the evolution of a field. Heifetz, Kania and Kramer (2004) outline ways that foundations can be more aggressive in stimulating bold action amongst the organisations that they fund.

The ability of private foundations to focus resources on specific issues, work collaboratively with other funders, build the capacity of grantees and strengthen the level of knowledge and practice within fields is seen within the nonprofit strategic management literature as the comparative advantage of philanthropic organisations (Kania & Kramer, 2011; Porter & Kramer, 1999). In particular, foundations are seen as having a field-level perspective and the power to create pressure for actors to work collaboratively and the legitimacy to become closely involved in the processes of constructing collective action (Heifetz et al., 2004; Kania & Kramer, 2011; Porter & Kramer, 1999). The claim that foundations have the ability to provide leadership by encouraging interorganisational change assumes that foundations have latent influence that can align actors around common espoused objectives. According to Porter & Kramer (1999), foundations can multiply the impact of their giving by more than 1000% by focusing on influencing practices and ideas at the level of the field rather than emphasising the selection of individual grantees. More recently there has been a series of meetings and publications to promote a concept of “collective impact” amongst foundations.

“This requires a fundamental change in how funders see their role, from funding organizations to leading a long-term process of social change. It is no longer enough to fund an innovative solution created by a single nonprofit or to build that organization’s capacity. Instead, funders must help create and sustain the collective processes, measurement reporting systems, and community leadership that enable cross-sector coalitions to arise and thrive.” (Kania & Kramer, 2011: 41)

This article by Kania & Kramer (2011) on collective impact was the most downloaded article from the Stanford Social Innovation Review in 2014.

Despite the widespread discussion of the need for funders to adopt a more assertive role and the continued dominance of the strategic management frame, there are few rigorous studies of foundations’ attempts to construct collective action in fields within the nonprofit management literature (Blumenthal, 2003; Patrizi & Thompson, 2011). A number of recent studies from the practice literature, based on evaluations of interventions by foundations have questioned whether the funder should assume a leading role in designing collective action responses to social problems. Easterting (2011) highlights that funders designing and coordinating collective action can result in time and effort being spent on meetings and monitoring processes at the expense of actual collective action work. According to Kubisch, Auspos, Brown, & Dewar (2010), foundations forcing the pace of alignment amongst organisations can result in frustration with progress, disappointing outcomes and a weaker field. Kimball & Kopell (2011:37) argue that foundations need to “let go”, specify broader focus areas and stop micro-managing social change initiatives in dynamic environments. Easterting (2011)

proposes that interorganisational collective action instigated by foundations should start gradually and grow in a more emergent fashion.

2.9.5 The role of funders in influencing interactions in the institutional literature

The early insights from an institutional diffusion perspective suggested that a dominant funder in a nonprofit field would lead to greater isomorphic pressure to conform with the wishes of this funder (e.g. Oliver, 1991) and that this will lead to alignment around the logics of the funder (Smith & Lipsky, 1993).

More recently authors drawing on analyses of funder interactions with fields have suggested that funders' influence is less deterministic and that institutional logics within nonprofit fields are more durable than the diffusion perspective would suggest (Aksartova, 2009; Binder, 2007; Heydemann & Hammack, 2009; Swidler, 2009). For Bartley (2007) the power of foundations derives primarily from their ability to channel support over the long-term to organisations which constitute or at least underpin social movements. Studying retrospectively the construction of the field of forest certification, he highlights how foundations provided a degree of strategic coordination to the interorganisational efforts, by channelling funding across a range of mainstream and more radical environmental protection organisations. Similar to DiMaggio (1991) it would seem that foundations influence fields over a significant period of time and primarily through supporting organisations financially to enable them to augment the work they already engage in rather than seeking to influence practices directly or construct collective action amongst organisations over the shorter-term.

Studies of efforts of US foundations to “project” their institutional logic into fields of organisations in other countries (e.g. Aksartova, 2009; Swidler, 2009) or within nonprofit organisations (e.g. Binder, 2007) suggest that institutional logics are far more durable and less plastic than the above strategic management or indeed institutional diffusion perspectives suggest. This research will study fields where a philanthropic foundation has played an active role in attempting to facilitate collaboration amongst organisations working on common issues and attempt to fill a specific gap in our understanding of the extent to which philanthropic foundations can instigate collective action. Previous overviews of existing philanthropic research by Fleishman, (2009) Heydemann & Hammack (2009) have highlighted a dearth of research on foundations as organisations and their influences on

organisational fields, with existing research often based on contracted evaluations which highlight successful cases of foundation activity (Fleishman, 2009).

Tsasis (2009) used a resource dependency approach to study the emergence and cultivation of interorganisational collaboration amongst nonprofits working on behalf of the HIV/AIDS community in Canada. He found that whilst organisations did pursue resources, collaborative relationships were underpinned by common objectives, values and ideologies. Similar to D'Aunno & Zuckerman's (1987) study of collaboration amongst hospitals, he found that a common ideology is an important factor in helping organisations that share objectives to work together.

In summary, we can see that the perceived need for strategic alignments amongst nonprofit organisations is based upon a view that this greater integration of organisational capacities will objectively yield an increase in social value. There are calls for greater integration of organisational efforts using strategic planning tools and funders in particular are seen as having an objective influence that they should use to bring greater strategic coherence to organisational fields. Despite the topical nature of these discussions there is little rigorous research informing them.

2.10 Key findings from the literature review and remaining gaps in our understanding

The main gaps in the literature are now set out. At a theoretical level much progress has been made recently articulating a model of the micro-processes of institutional logics and the need to study institutional logics as co-implicated, culturally embedded patterns of shared goals, collective identities and action strategies. There is still a need though to empirically explore the extent to which institutional logics are represented by coherent groupings of actors with shared goals, identities and strategies and to understand how the ambiguity created by institutional complexity influences efforts to construct collective action.

There are significant gaps in our understanding of how institutional contexts influence the construction of collective action highlighted by many of the authors reviewed above (Hardy & Phillips, 1999; Lawrence et al., 1999; Phillips et al., 2000). Hardy et al. (2005) highlight the need for research to study the organising of collective action within contexts of multiple

institutions, as an on-going accomplishment and they highlight the need to also study collaborative failures. The recent advances in our understanding of the micro-processes of institutional logics (as outlined by Thornton et al. 2012) and the implications of institutional complex fields (Greenwood, Raynard, Kodeih, Micelotta, & Lounsbury, 2011) have not been explored empirically or developed theoretically in terms of the construction of collective action.

Unsurprisingly, there are some different conclusions reached by researchers who approach the construction of collective action from institutionalist and strategic management traditions. The strategic management research emphasises the potential of philanthropic foundations to lead these processes. Studies of the impact of foundations on nonprofit fields from an institutionalist perspective suggest that the influence of funders is less deterministic than theories from resource dependence or critical perspectives suggest. This research will seek to add significantly our understanding of the role of the funder, as interpreted by both nonprofit organisation and foundation staff in the construction of collective action in nonprofit fields.

Table 2.2 outlines the main insights from the existing literatures reviewed and summarises the gaps in our understanding or areas of debate where this dissertation seeks to make a contribution.

Table 2.2 - Main insights from the literature relevant to the research question and remaining gaps

Research focus of this dissertation	Insights from literature	Specific gaps in understanding
Institutional logics as experienced by individuals in complex fields	-Theoretical model developed of institutional logics at a level of the individual actor (Thornton et al., 2012) but not empirically applied (Zilber, 2013) -Different concepts of logics (abstracted & grounded) and how they influence actors (enchantment, toolkits) -Where actors share a common underlying logic and are interdependent	-How logics actually influence individuals in terms of embedding coherent constellations of goals, identities and strategies in institutionally complex fields -A lack of empirical investigations of fields where individuals are enchanted by different logics (Friedland, 2012a) - A lack of understanding of whether individuals can exhibit multiple enchantments simultaneously to different

	they can fuse and blend other competing logics and exhibit “skilful” response to juggling the competing demands	logics in institutionally complex fields -Need for an inductive methodological approach to deriving institutional logics from frames and interpretations of actors
Influence of institutional complexity on the construction of collective action	-Strategic management approaches often emphasise need for alignment in nonprofit fields and sequential steps to achieve it rather than institutional contexts (Bailey & McNally Koney, 2000) -Empirical evidence of nonprofit organisations seeking to access and control resources during interactions but also need to understand how beliefs and ideologies influence collective action (Galaskiewicz & Bielefeld, 1998; Tsasis, 2009) -Importance of institutional context and interactive, discursive processes for understanding the construction of collective action (Hardy et al., 2005, 1998, 2003; Hardy & Phillips 1998; Lawrence et al., 2002, 1999; Phillips et al. 2000) -The importance of frame alignment processes for constructing collective action (Benford & Snow, 2000) -Collective action can be a nascent process of institutionalisation (Lawrence et al., 2002) or an on-going fragile accomplishments	-The influence of institutional complexity on efforts to construct collective action -The role of institutional ideological enchantment and ambiguity in actors’ efforts to construct collective action across competing institutional logics
Influence of foundations on construction of collective action in institutionally complex fields	-Debate between studies which suggest that a single dominant funder will lead to isomorphism (Smith & Lipsky, 1993) and those which suggest that foundations have a less deterministic influence on nonprofit organisations (Aksartova,	-Lack of rigorous research on the role which foundations can play in the short to medium-term in facilitating collective action in fields with multiple, competing institutional logics

	2009; Binder, 2007; Swidler, 2009) -Foundations play an important role in fields over long periods of time through providing grant-making support to organisations (Bartley, 2007; DiMaggio, 1991) -Calls from strategic management literature for foundations to adopt a leading role in facilitating efforts to construct collective action in fields as well as providing grant-making support (Kania & Kramer, 2011; Porter & Kramer, 1999)	
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Chapter 3 – Methodology and methods used

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a clear explanation of the theoretical approach, methodology and methods used in seeking to answer the research question. As described in Chapter 2, the study needs to adopt an approach, which is capable of inductively building up a picture of institutional complexity and how this complexity influences efforts to construct collective action. This implies that the social construction of collective action should be studied by seeking to understand the context and the processes of these interactions. It is argued below that this interest in social construction and symbolic interactionism and the associated assumptions made about the nature of institutional logics and how they influence interactions has critical implications for how we set about addressing the research question.

Following Crotty (2009), a schema is introduced which sets out the epistemology of the study, the theoretical perspective, the methodology and the methods used. Specific research methods used to analyse the institutional logics, which were prevalent in the two research settings are described and the data structure is set out. The methods used to analyse the influence which institutional complexity had on efforts to construct collective action are also explained and the data structure presented.

3.2 Social constructionism as an epistemological approach

Social constructionism is an epistemology which has its roots in the works of Mannheim, Berger, Luckmann and American pragmatist philosophers such as William James and John Dewey (Crotty, 2009). A central tenet of social constructionism is that all meaningful reality is created through human processes of interaction with each other and their world and that these meanings are transmitted in a social context (Crotty, 2009). It is not though a purely subjectivist stance. Social construction is not a denial of external phenomena but rather a focusing on the meanings that people create, transmit, maintain and transform. A key feature of social constructionism which distinguishes it from more purely subjective epistemological stances is its emphasis on the social and historical development of meaning. As Schwandt (2000:197) outlines

“...there is an inevitable historical and sociocultural dimension to this construction. We do not construct our interpretations in isolation but against a backdrop of shared understandings, practices, language and so forth.”

As is outlined in Chapter 2, early research on institutional logics empirical research focused on questions of diffusion of practices or organisational forms reflecting the early new institutionalist interest in the similarities encounter within networks of organisations in fields (e.g. Haveman & Rao, 1997). These studies focus on objectively measuring the prevalence of cultural artefacts rather than on the detail how individuals interpret and interact within institutional contexts (Zilber, 2013). Within these approaches the influence of the logics and the influence of actors on the logics are a “black box” lacking a theory of how institutions actual manifest themselves in interactions of individuals (Suddaby, 2010a; Zilber, 2013). According to Zilber (2013) this objectivist approach to institutional logics is indicative of broader, deeply engrained deductive positivist and post-positivist traditions within organisational studies. Despite the fact that many institutional researchers reference social construction and the work of Berger & Luckmann (1967), the primary emphasis is often on studying institutions which have become taken for granted and studies often focus on a field-level assuming the institutions have coherent and deterministic influences (Barley, 2008).

3.3 Symbolic interactionism – Studying actors’ interpretations and interactions

More recent efforts to accord a greater role for agency (e.g. Hallett & Ventresca, 2006) have drawn on the theoretical approach of symbolic interactionism which uses individual interpretations and actions to study socially constructed institutions (Barley, 2008). Mead (1912: 402) sees interactions as taking place within a field of gestures which

“Does not simply relate the individual to other individuals as physical objects, but puts him en rapport with their actions, which are as yet only indicated, and arouses instinctive reactions appropriate to these social activities.”

Some symbolic interactionists emphasise the role of the context of interactions in influencing individual beliefs and practices. Goffman (1961) for example refers to “total institutions” which are highly influential across a range of social spheres. In terms of studying institutional influences he recommends deriving these by studying the detail of everyday life and abstracting towards institutions using “the method of ideal types, establishing common features with the hope of highlighting significant differences later on” (Goffman 1961: 5). Strauss (1978) in his theory of negotiated order also accorded an important role to structural context within which interactions took place. What unites though all of the main symbolic

interactionists, who explore institutions and social structure, is their belief that social structure should be studied primarily from an inductive perspective based on the interpretations and meanings of individuals as they interact.

Whilst some institutional research does focus on interactions and the construction of meaning (e.g. Lawrence, Phillips, & Hardy, 1999) as discussed in Chapter 2, this work has not been drawn upon in the institutional complexity. More recently within the institutional logics tradition there has been a nascent effort to draw more on interactionist approaches and to focus on the individual actor. Mair & Hehenberger (2014) and Smets, Morris, & Greenwood (2012) for example, use the interpretations and practices of actors to build up a picture of institutional logics and how they influence interactions. This is similar to the individual practitioner-macro praxis level identified by Jarzabkowski & Paul Spee (2009).

Given the interest in this research in studying how institutions influence the interpretations and actions of individuals, the research draws on the symbolic interactionist approaches to studying socially constructed phenomena. The emphasis in this thesis is on exploring institutions through the interpretations and frames of actors participating in interactions around constructing collective action. This approach to institutional logics in terms of analytical levels is similar to Creed, Scully, & Austin (2002), Lawrence, Phillips, & Hardy (1999) Lawrence & Phillips (2004), Mair & Hehenberger (2014) and Zilber (2002) in that the focus is on how individuals within fields interact within institutional contexts. As Smets, Morris, & Greenwood (2012), Barley (2008) and Mair & Hehenberger (2014) claim, more inductive approaches to studying institutional logics in action enable the researcher to explore how institutions influence actual actors within social situations.

Using language to study institutional logics and their influence on processes

Berger & Luckmann (1967: 151) argue that how phenomena are discussed is “the most important vehicle” in constructing and maintaining reality. According to Phillips, Lawrence, & Hardy (2004) all institutions are discursive phenomena and the role of language is central to institutionalisation. There is an iterative relationship between institutions and the use of language in that discourses both reflect existing institutional contexts as well as providing the central mechanism by which actors seek to create, maintain and dismantle existing institutions (Lawrence & Phillips, 2004; Lawrence et al., 2009; Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Phillips et al., 2004)(Phillips & Malhotra, 2008; Phillips & Oswick, 2012). This dissertation uses an

approach similar to previous works which study the language that actors use to make sense of priorities and appropriate strategies drawing on prevailing meaning systems (e.g. Lawrence et al., 1999; Mair & Hehenberger, 2014; Smets et al., 2012; Zilber, 2002, 2007).

3.4 Analysing framing processes to derive institutional logics and study their influence

As we have seen in Chapter 2 framing process provide insights into the salient institutional logics within fields. Creed, Scully, & Austin (2002) for example, illustrated how prevailing institutional logics and framing processes were intertwined and how actors shape and fashion broader institutional logics in local settings. According to Creed et al. (2002: 481) framing processes are particularly suited to studying institutional processes since they

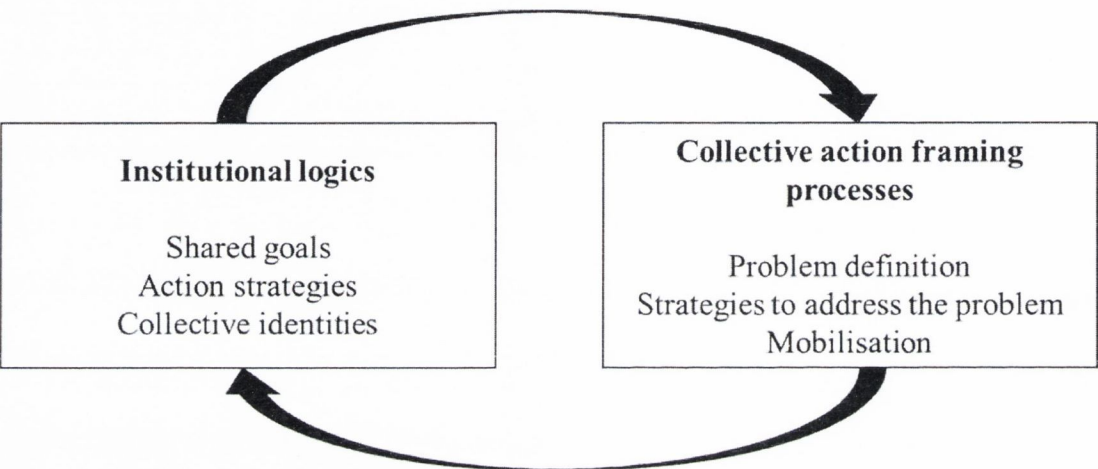
“allow us to look for similarities and differences between higher-order cultural accounts and local legitimating accounts and to identify linkages across levels of analysis (as well as the relationship between accounts operating at the same level of analysis)”

Studying framing processes therefore provides a window into the influential institutional logics within a field by providing framing cues which illustrate shared goals, identities and action strategies, as well as illustrating how individuals attempt to construct shared interpretations of problems to be addressed, the appropriate strategies to address them and who should be mobilised to achieve this (Green & Li, 2011).

Studying collective action framing processes enables us to explore what the prevailing institutional logics are in a field by closely studying the “core tasks” of collective action framing; problem diagnosis (identification of the problem), prognosis (what is to be done) and mobilisation (how to activate people). It is argued in this dissertation, building on the above prior work, that collective action framing processes provide a window into the prevailing logics and into how these logics actually influence processes. The novel approach adopted in this dissertation is to use these core tasks to gradually abstract towards the prevailing logics. By studying the core framing tasks of problem diagnosis (what is the priority issue to be addressed), prognosis (what is to be done) and mobilisation efforts (who should do this) as articulated in frames of actors, we can in turn illuminate constellations of shared goals, collective identities and action strategies (i.e. the salient institutional logics).

An inductive approach allows the researcher to build up a picture of the constellations of collective goals and action schema by exploring how actors interpret collective action. This is done by first studying actors’ frames of priority problems to be addressed, strategies to address these problems and efforts to mobilise others, before abstracting from this detail and nuance to derive more coherent institutional logics.

Figure 3.1 – The recursive connection between framing processes and institutional logic contexts



This recursive relationship is depicted in Figure 3.1. It is important to note that this is not a deterministic relationship as outlined in Chapter 2. Individuals will interpret logics and frame collective action differently ways based on their experiences and interactions. This is the reason for choosing the word “influences” in the research question rather than a more deterministic phrase. The central focus of the research is on how actors interactively construct collective action within institutionally complex settings.

3.5 Using a case study approach

Case studies are an ideal method for intensively inquiring into the underlying causes of phenomena in complex settings (Flyvbjerg, 2013). Stake (2008: 120) defines case studies as focusing on “bounded systems” where there is a need to understand complex holistic patterns. Flyvbjerg (2013) argues that a defining feature of case studies is their ability to delve into a deep understanding of particular units of analysis and explore context, causes and outcomes. Flyvbjerg (2013) makes the case that the theories generated from case studies can be used through force of example to transfer lessons from one setting to others. Case studies are often

used in more inductive approaches to developing and extending theory (Eisenhardt, 1989) and are particularly well suited to social constructionist epistemologies where studying context and interactions are important (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Given the dearth of research focused on how actors experience institutional complexity and the lack of research on how institutionally complex settings influence the construction of collective action outlined in Chapter 2, a case study method is used. Many of the other studies which have adopted a more inductive approach to exploring the influence of institutions on interpretations and actions within organisations or fields have also used case approaches (e.g. Hardy & Phillips, 1998; Jarzabkowski, Smets, Bednarek, Burke, & Spee, 2013; Lawrence, Hardy, & Phillips, 2002; Lawrence, Phillips, & Hardy, 1999; Mair & Hehenberger, 2014; Smets, Morris, & Greenwood, 2012; Zilber, 2002).

Suddaby & Lefsrud (2010) argue that case studies are particularly well-suited to institutional research for four reasons; 1) Case studies emphasise the critical importance of local and historical context; 2) They enable the researcher to study complex causality; 3) They allow glimpses into the inner workings of institutions in that these micro-processes are often only visible during periods of change and; 4) Case studies enable fine grained analyses of processes that can reveal the reified elements of institutions. Many of the studies of multiple institutions in fields use cases of specific field and according to Schneiberg & Clemens (2006: 215)

“...efforts to measure heterogeneity typically follow DiMaggio's (1991) study of art museums and begin by using in-depth qualitative-historical analyses of discourse, debate and contestation to reconstruct the range of models deployed within a field.”

Similar to Waldorff, Reay, & Goodrick (2013) this study uses multiple cases in different countries to study how different constellations of logics influence actions in each setting and the case approach enables the study of institutional logics at more macro and micro levels simultaneously.

3.6 Selection of research settings and case studies

Two research settings were selected; the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex (LGBTI) organisational field in South Africa and the Ageing field in the Republic of Ireland. Both fields had been supported by the same foundation, the Atlantic Philanthropies over roughly the same period (2004 to 2013) and the foundation had instigated a number of

interorganisational processes to explore the potential for greater collective action. Five efforts to construct collective action were selected as cases across these two very different settings. The selection of research settings followed the advice of Eisenhardt (1989) and Pettigrew (1997) to select settings based on assumed differences with regard to the phenomenon under investigation. Also, the main private funder, the Atlantic Philanthropies was exiting both fields and instigating collective conversations about the future missions and structures of the organisational fields. This provided an opportunity to study actors' interpretations of these efforts and recent previous efforts to construct collective action and to study institutions at the "coalface" (Barley, 2008) of interactions. Common themes were derived inductively from this analysis and built into a theoretical model illustrating how institutional complexity influences the process of constructing collective action.

The perception of the role of a prominent philanthropic foundation (the largest private funder in both fields), the Atlantic Philanthropies in these efforts is also explored in detail. The fact that there is a common funder that subscribed to the idea of strategic philanthropy and which took an active part in trying to encourage collective action also allows the dissertation to explore in some depth the extent to which the foundation was seen as an instigator and facilitator of collective action. In line with the social constructionist epistemology of the study, the role of the foundation in constructing collective action and its influence on the outcomes is explored from the standpoint of the interpretations of participants in these efforts.

3.7 Data collection

Eisenhardt (1989) outlines that it is common in case study research to use multiple sources of data. In this study the main sources of data used were interviews and documentation of collective action efforts. Given that the main focus of the research centred on actors interpretations and framing of previous collective action efforts, interviews were used as one of the primary means of collecting data. This is similar to other studies that seek to explore how individual actors interpret and are influenced by institutions (e.g. Binder, 2007; Mair & Hehenberger, 2014; Smets, Morris, & Greenwood, 2012; Zilber, 2002) although these other studies also used participant observation. According to Rubin & Rubin (2012) interviews which seek to understand cultural beliefs and practices have an exploratory quality as researchers look for patterns in terms of how these beliefs and practices influence how respondents interpret different situations. All interviews are discursive (Kvale & Brinkman,

2009) and similar to Lok (2010) these interviews were treated as “discursive environments” and the collective action frames and interpretations of the interviewees were studied to reveal patterns of institutional logics and to explore how these logics influenced the efforts to construct collective action.

Thirty-five people were interviewed over the period 2012 to 2013. Nineteen interviews took place in South Africa and sixteen in the Republic of Ireland. All of the Irish interviews and thirteen of the South African interviews took place face to face, and three of the South African interviews took place over video Skype calls. All of the interviews were recorded and fully transcribed. Most of the interviewees were identified in advance as participants in the efforts to construct collective action by foundation staff. Other interviewees and documentation were suggested by interviewees but a full snowballing method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) was not used as a large cadre of the interviewees were identified in advance as participants in the efforts to construct collective action. Interviewees did suggest others to be interviewed and these actors were interviewed where possible. Table 3.1 sets out the geographic location and professional backgrounds of the interviewees.

Table 3.1 – Interviewees by research setting and by primary role

	Nonprofit leaders	Atlantic Staff	Other foundation staff	Consultants	Total
Republic of Ireland - Ageing	7	4	0	5	16
South Africa - LGBTI	11	1	5	2	19

The interviewees were comprised of the people who had been central to the efforts to construct collective action. Most of the nonprofit actors interviewed were organisational leaders. The staff in the Atlantic Philanthropies who were involved with the two programmes were also interviewed. In South Africa there were some other smaller private funders in the LGBTI field who were interviewed but there were no other charitable foundations active in the ageing arena in Ireland over this period. In both South Africa and Ireland, consultants

were interviewed who facilitated collective action processes or who had been involved in evaluating these efforts. The consultants had a mixture of background in management consulting and evaluation and all had previous experience of working in nonprofit fields in the relevant countries.

Interviews were semi-structured and focused on interviewee’s

- backgrounds and entry into the field
- impressions of the organisational field
- interpretations of prior and on-going efforts to construct collective action
- the role of the philanthropic foundation in these efforts to construct collective action
- their impressions of the future direction of the field

The interview schedules set out in Appendix 2 provide an outline of the structure of the interviews although these were not adhered to strictly and were used as prompts to ensure that the above topics were covered. Appendix 3 contains the interview confidentiality and consent form. Table 3.2 sets out the documents, which were entered into Nvivo 10.0 and coded. As DiMaggio (1991) illustrates, documentation can provide valuable insights into interactions within fields overtime. The documents that were analysed and coded related directly to efforts to construct collective action such as externally commissioned evaluations of collective action efforts and meeting minutes. These documents varied in length from documents of 51 pages in length to a few pages.

Table 3.2 - Reports and documentation analysed and coded in Nvivo

	Evaluations of collective action efforts	Minutes/transcriptions of meetings to discuss collective action	Other reports of collective action efforts	Total
Republic of Ireland - Ageing	1	7	1	9
South Africa - LGBTI	4	1	1	6

In addition to the documents that were coded in Nvivo, there was a large body of material reviewed as background information, including submissions to the foundation for funding for

specific projects, annual reports and strategic plans which related more generally to the work of the individual organisations and the foundation. Also, a number of published field histories and publicly available archival materials were analysed. In particular, the Gay And Lesbian Archive (GALA) in South Africa provided rich sources of background material. These documents are referenced and cited in Chapters 4 and 5.

As is outlined in Chapter 1, I was employed by the Atlantic Philanthropies from the period 1998 to 2012. I was granted privileged access to all of the relevant documentary material produced during the meetings to discuss collective action. Only a small amount of direct observation of the meetings amongst the nonprofit organisations to discuss collective action was possible, however, as it was felt by staff within the foundation that having had professional responsibility for evaluation of foundation programmes, my presence might influence the discussions of the organisations. That said, one of the key scenario planning events in South Africa for the LGBTI field was observed and a transcription of the meeting shared. Also the available records of the meetings of the organisations to discuss collective action convened by the foundation and the external evaluations of these efforts were shared.

In addition to the interviews and documentary material and observations, other prior studies of the ageing field in the Republic of Ireland and the LGBTI field in the South Africa and the social contexts within which these fields operate were read. Studying the development of fields through reading historical accounts helped to put framing processes into context (Lounsbury, Ventresca, & Hirsch, 2003) and also provided triangulation that these observed interpretations are culturally embedded by providing another line of sight into the historically accumulated practices and beliefs within the fields (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2009).

The fact that I was employed by the Atlantic Philanthropies helped facilitate access to interviewees and documentation but required reflection on how I was perceived by the interviewees. Interviews are a specific form of interaction and are not anonymous or neutral (Kvale, 1996) and the interviewer is an active participant in the process (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). To mitigate against a sense of being perceived as a representative of the foundation, all interviews took place after I had announced my resignation from the Atlantic Philanthropies and all interviewees were given a written undertaking specifying the academic purpose of the interview and the confidentiality conditions under which the interviews were being conducted (see Appendix 3). In addition, reassurances were given at the outset of the interviews

regarding confidentiality. As Simpson (2010) highlights, interviews are co-constructions of meaning and my role in this process was important. As much as possible, though I tried to ask open questions and let the interviewees talk. Many of the interviewees revealed sensitive information and what appeared to be frank assessments of peer activists, the role the foundation had played and criticisms of themselves and their own organisations.

The interviews and the subsequent data analysis required me to reflexively consider my own role in the data analysis processes. In order to try and remain as faithful as possible to the interpretations and frames of the actors interviewed, I iterated repeatedly between the data and my emerging interpretations to try to ensure that my own biases were not leading the findings. I also looked for counter-examples to test and reconsider the emerging findings as recommended by (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). I used many direct quotations in the write up also to try and help the reader immerse themselves in the interactions and to enable the voices of the interviewees to be at the fore. It is impossible for researchers to remove all biases, as most are taken for granted but I have tried to document the steps followed as transparently as possible to describe the research approach taken as recommended by Mantere & Ketokivi (2012). Corbin & Strauss, (2008) and Glaser & Strauss (1967) claim that the researcher is an active participant in the process and their insights and creativity are central to the process. Ketokivi & Mantere (2010) highlight that being suspicious of the ability for researchers to achieve objectivity and abandoning rigor are not synonymous. As Langley, Smallman, Tsoukas, & Van de Ven (2013) claim, developing deep experience of a research site needs to be counterbalanced by attention to reflexivity, rigor and peer review and this was particularly true for me given my background with the Atlantic Philanthropies.

3.8 Data analysis

The analysis of the data was based on the constant comparative method (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). The interview transcripts, memos, meeting minutes and evaluations of efforts to construct collective action were analysed using Nvivo 10.0 software. The approach to data analysis was informed primarily by Corbin & Strauss's (2008) and Locke's (2001) inductive approaches to analysing qualitative data. As Locke (2001) highlights inductive approaches to analysing data are appropriate for capturing complexity in organisational life and their ability to portray multifaceted accounts.

Stage 1 – Organising the data collected

The first stage of analysis involved the classification of the interview transcriptions, memo and meeting minutes whether they originated from interviews with or documentation from nonprofit organisational staff, funders, consultants or other documentation. Timelines were constructed of the key events in both Ireland and South Africa as perceived by the interviewees and these timelines amended and clarified as the analysis proceeded (Pettigrew, 1990; Reay & Hinings, 2009a). These timelines were also supplemented by the analysis of the documentation. These chronologies are set out in tables 4.1 and 5.1.

Stage 2 – Open coding

The next stage of analysis involved inductively coding the interviews and meeting transcripts with open codes that broke down the material into units of meaning and memos were written to draw out and compare the concepts emerging from these data as recommended by (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). The list of codes expanded as the actors' interpretations of the efforts to construct collective action were analysed and two separate coding lists were developed for each research setting. Primarily sensitising questions were asked of the data relating to efforts to construct collective action at this stage such as "What is going on here?", "Who are the actors involved" "What are their interpretations?" "What are their impressions of the importance of these events and what is at stake?" These codes were compared with the existing ones and the list developed for each setting. These open codes emerged from the data and related broadly to the actors interpretations of the history and cultural beliefs within the field, their interpretations of efforts to construct collective action, their interpretations of the organisational field, the role of the foundation within the processes to construct collective action and the future envisaged and hoped for in the organisational fields.

Stage 3 – Developing the collective action frames

These open codes were then grouped according to actors' interpretations of the history and background of the fields and their framing of events, identified by the interviewees as significant efforts to construct collective action. These frames were organised by Benford & Snow's (2000) core collective action framing tasks of problem diagnosis (what is the priority problem that we should be addressing), prognosis of strategies to address the problem (how

should we do this) and framing of which actors should be mobilised to address the problem (who should we organise with to do this). This was done inductively in the sense that the collective action frames emerged from the data and no attempt was made a priori to prejudge what these frames would be. The use core tasks of the collective action framing approach to group the data allowed for actors' interpretations to be grouped by these tasks. Actors' interpretations of the role of the funders encouraging and facilitating collective action were also grouped and themes emerged.

Stage 4 – Deriving the institutional logics

As set out in Chapter 2, the institutional logics in the two fields are conceptualised as more abstract meaning systems which influence how actors interpret goals and action strategies and collectively identify with others. Again this was a process of gradual abstraction as recommended by Corbin & Strauss, (2008) and Locke (2001). Three institutional logics were found to be prevalent in the South African field and two in the Irish setting. The derivation of these institutional logics inductively from the actors' interpretations and frames is set out for each field in table 3.3 and table 3.4.

Stage 5 – Analysing coherence of the institutional logics

In each field the extent to which each actor's interpretations and frames adhered with the prevailing institutional logics was analysed in the context of the efforts to construct collective action in each field. The purpose of this analysis was to explore in more depth the extent to which the derived logics actually manifested themselves coherently in actors' interpretations and frames in relation to collective action. This enabled the researcher to explore whether the institutional logics were a source of enchantment, toolkits or repertoires of action and/or source of ambiguity for actors. This was made possible by exploring the institutional logics, which had been derived through the process of gradual abstraction described in Stage 4 with the actual interpretations and frames of actors gathered into frames in Stage 3 to see whether actors adhered to the more abstract logics or exhibited more fragmented logics in their interpretations and frames. This is similar to Martin's (1992) grounded approach to studying fragmented organisational cultures by contrasting individuals more complex interpretations with the apparent conformity at a more abstracted level.

Stage 6 – An analysis of how institutional complexity influences efforts to construct collective action

The cases of efforts to construct collective action across the two fields were then analysed. The actors' interpretations of the conditions, interactions and consequences of these efforts were studied (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) and from analysing and comparing and contrasting the interpretations of these efforts, a process model of how institutional complexity influences the construction of collective action in nonprofit fields is set out in Chapter 6. The derivation of these empirical themes involved returning to open codes developed in Stage 1 and grouping them by their relevance to the specific efforts to construct collective action. Again the constant comparative method was used and once again this analysis gradually moved towards more theoretical categories based on abstraction and interpretation by the researcher (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Langley, 1999; Locke, 2001). This analysis of the processes of constructing collective action across the five cases also enables valuable insights into how the multiple institutional logics influenced the interactions as the temporal of dimension the interactions came into clearer focus (Pettigrew, 1997). Again memos were written alongside the development of these empirical themes. These themes were then developed into a process model by exploring the inter-relationships between these concepts. The data structure from this analysis is presented in table 3.5.

The interpretations of the role and impact of the funder in these processes was analysed and explored as a distinct theme. Again, the open codes which were relevant to the role of the funder in encouraging or facilitating these processes were grouped and themes were developed based on the interpretations of the actors involved using the constant comparative technique over the context, interactions and outcomes of the efforts to construct collective action. The coding structure is set out in table 3.5.

During the writing up of the cases extensive quotations are used from the interviewees to enable the reader to immerse themselves in the interpretations of the actors. Each quotation has a reference which denotes 1) an anonymised marker for the specific interviewee (the first two letters in the brackets) 2) whether the interviewee was part of the South African (i.e. SA) or Republic of Ireland (i.e. ROI) field and 3) whether the interviewee was a nonprofit leader (NP), a foundation staff member (F) or a consultant (C).

Table 3.3 Data structure – Deriving institutional logics in the ageing field

Illustrative data of individuals’ frames	First order themes	Second order themes	Components of Logics	Institutional Logics
“There is a huge level of unconscious ageism.” (HK-ROI-NP)	Countering ageism	Improving the welfare of older adults specifically	Goals	
“For the first time in world history we have a cohort of people who are who have reached retirement we need to describe and new life-stage and we need to give it new roles and new respect and new influence and new authority.” (HG-ROI-NP)	Promoting civic engagement			
“The need to meet this unfolding national challenge is particularly pressing in relation to the situation of those older people who are frail, living in poverty or otherwise disadvantaged.” (CK-ROI-C)	Helping vulnerable older adults			
“I see activities...[name of an organisation] is a great service (HB-ROI-NP)	Increased delivery of services			
“It is up to us and I’m saying this as an older person now to nuance and both claim [social welfare] transfers but to say that we want to serve. Not just to be at the Dáil [the Irish Parliament] looking for more hand-outs...I would have preferred if we joined forces with people with disabilities or young people.”(ER-ROI-NP)	Absence of wider social vision			
“We looked at, what are the bits of the sector that we’d hold between the three...And with the structures that we had in place...well that’s what’s brining us together” (ER-ROI-NP)	Delivering services effectively	Provide services and advocate for benefits for older adults	Strategies	Community Logic
Losing the universal entitlement [to medical cards]. So now you’re moving from a country and a government that had viewed the whole area of social care as being very important. ...our members wanted to march. They were certainly gung hoe to do so...(HG-ROI-NP)	Advocating for specific benefits and entitlements for older adults			
“But beyond that ageing issue there’s substantive ones around health care systems, pension systems, employment entitlements, legislative discrimination. It’s not a comfort zone.” (YA-ROI-NP)	Identification specifically with ageing issues	Older adults as vulnerable group and staff as service providers	Identities	
“There was no money and anybody that was going to get money, it was about actually putting money into services.” (KA-ROI-NP)	Voluntary self-help identities			
“I think that part of it is a consequence of the extraordinary territoriality in the sector which has to do with money.” (ZF-ROI-C)	Maximise funding			
We have a consultant in at the moment whose waving yesterday she was waving something she had picked up	Increase organisational			

in Tipperary [at an event organised by the organisation] at us and saying, “Look! No logo. No [Organisation’s name] logo. (ER-ROI-NP)	profile and influence	Promote organisation as a an end in itself	Goals	Organisational logic
“It was very much driven by someone’s complete and utter paranoia that this way of working was destroying this body. But it wasn’t...” (HG-ROI-NP)	Maintain income and position of influence			
“If I was one of the two who got the money would I have said lets share that with the others?” (ER-ROI-NP)	Competing for funding			
“I suppose my perception and is only my perception is that they were actually making decisions on very fundamental issues that would have long term implications but they were making those decisions based on today’s concerns rather than thinking ahead and saying imagining a different future.” (MI-ROI-C)	Incremental change and protecting separate organisational structures			
“You have CEOs sending other people to board meetings to take positions that the CEOs then renege on.” (HB-ROI-NP)	Lack of engagement in collaborative processes	Maintain independence	Strategies	
“I think of the setting up of entities we ended up in power struggles with each other, whereas if you were to look at building that again you would definitely, I would definitely think there is a different way.” (HG-ROI-NP)	Resist collective structures which threaten independence			
“Let’s jointly own it and collaborate and so on but to learn the lessons from the past is don’t bring the NGOs together to discuss merging...because if the only item on the agenda is that all you’ll do is focus on all the reasons why it shouldn’t happen” (IZ-ROI-C)	Support collective structures which bring more incremental change to organisational status quo			
“So their values are very aligned. That’s certainly true but they’d be quick to spot any kind of one trying to put one over the other” (XQ-ROI-F)	Compete to maintain and enhance position	Compete to ensure position		
“So there was no interaction between the NGOs. Everyone was paddling their own canoe.” (KA-ROI-NP)	Ingrained identification with separate organisations	Organisation as an extension of the leader	Identities	
“Because they are founding CEOs they are almost seen as the president and CEO and the one who will determine the future of the organisation and with boards being in a role of always being supportive providing insight and advice and so on but not challenging or opposing the CEO or calling to account as such and maybe that’s part of what needs to change for a real movement happening in the sector.” (MI-ROI-C)	Leader closely identified with organisation			
“In a business you get an entrepreneur, they grow a company and they get to a point where they’re not the right person to lead it. There a number of exit options at	Positive identity as social entrepreneur associated with			

that stage while they're voluntary or involuntary for that person. With a social entrepreneur the same sort of options simply aren't there." (HB-ROI-NP)	organisational leadership			
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Table 3.4 Data structure – Deriving institutional logics in LGBTI field

Illustrative data	First order themes	Second order themes	Components of Logics	Institutional Logics
“The LGBT people are marginalised but within LGBT people we have groups that are particularly vulnerable and its key that we address their specific needs.” (WZ-SA-NP)	LGBTI people as in need & vulnerable	LGBTI community in need of specific supports and protections	Goals	Community Logic
“... an opportunity for being involved with their peers and others who in some respects are like minded and in other ways share an identity” (HM-SA-F)	Need for space to express identity			
“The Constitution has been a critical instrument in gains for the sector and most gains for the sector have come through the judiciary and the legislature.” (Scenario planning meeting minutes)	Legal rights & protections for LGBTI people			
“As I said issue-based stuff was most successful. Shared agreements as in a service level agreement between 2 or 3 organisations do exist.” (QC-SA-NP)	Functional planning in areas of overlap	Deliver services to LGBTI community and plan realistically	Strategies	
“It’s to have a team together that are trained to deliver a workshop....to actually go and deliver it” (GZ-SA-NP)	Delivery of services			
“We need to be realistic. It can’t be everything” (PQ-SA-NP)	Realistic, effective actors who deliver	Practical, effective and realistic actors	Identities	
“It became a playground for empty ideological discourses that was driven by a few personalities” (PQ-SA-NP)	Counter frame of indulgent discussions on ideology			
“There has to be a common recognition that this kind of contestation is actually part of democratic practice. That’s how you build a democracy.” (KC-SA-NP)	Need for discussion and political analysis of underlying causes	Bring about fundamental change to social institution	Goals	Social change logic
“The most pressing issue I think is to think about structural violence and inequality. Because in some ways that is what shapes our lives most directly...that is the most pressing and that before we even think about other sets of issues which we may frame to be more particular to us as LGBTI” (AY-SA-NP)	Need to challenge social institutions (e.g. class, gender, race)			
“I hope in terms of things like “democracy from below” in the way of the rethinking of the architecture of our government” (NF-SA-NP)	Social movement organising of grassroots	Organise through broad based social movements with ideological alignment	Strategies	
“You know how valid is your single issue LGBTI struggle when the police are shooting minors in	Alliance building67			

cold blood you know. And when does your issue stop being just your issue and because if you don't take note they'll come after you kind of thing.” (HR-SA-F)				
“I have some regrets that we didn't, from the organisational perspective, that we didn't place greater emphasis on political education, consciousness raising, movement building work. That's where my biggest regrets lie and that we placed so much emphasis on law reform and policy” (AY-SA-NP)	Political education			
“A lot of activists sort of have a problem letting go certain issues, you know carry them with them, Rightfully saying, they can speak with legitimate authority, they were involved in various struggles, anti-apartheid struggles.” (JC-SA-F)	Activists with lineage to anti-apartheid organising	Social activists	Identities	
“At that time most organisations were led by men. And the majority I would say were white men...and sort of silencing of lesbian issues but also you know a very low participation in leadership roles of lesbian women.” (AY-SA-NP)	Counter frame of middle-class white gay men prioritising own interests			
“We need strong organisations that are able to have a target of focus in different areas.” (WZ-SA-NP)	Strong, formal organisations needed to deliver programmes	Enhance and grow formal organisations	Goals	
“The mere fact that you exist as an LGBT organisation...it's like the same with the Civil Union Marriage Act, people don't necessarily make use of it but the fact that it's there makes you feel you've have rights.” (GZ-SA-NP)	Symbolic importance of LGBTI organisations			
“And I just I just wasn't up to that drama. So I was like “no I have work to do”...So only when it was necessary I would attend JWG meetings.” (GZ-SA-NP)	Prioritisation of organisational interests over collective action			
“The kind of funding that was made available which really did allow organisations to embark on programmes which are less project funding based and more kind of how do we actually strengthen these organisations” (AY-SA-NP)	Funding for general staff salaries and rent enabled organisations to grow stronger	Compete with other organisations to access resources	Strategies	
“There's an array of political positioning and	Competition between			

guarding of one’s own interests and issues. Sometimes rightfully so and particularly in the economic climate and the funding climate” (HY-SA-NP)	organisations to replace core costs as funding reduces			Organisational logic
“When people take different positions within the JWG (Joint Working Group), they did so for the name and the fame. They were trying to compete with you as a sister organisation.” (GZ-SA-NP)	Competition between organisations for position and profile			
“We as donors need to take responsibility that we’ve almost caused the crises the organisations face right now by funding lots of new organisations and start up organisations...creating the silo. We almost fostered a siloed approach by creating many LGBT organisations.” (LM-SA-F)	Specific issues pursued to access donor funding			
“That’s not going to resonate with a community base group based in a township area whose members are facing on a daily basis the threat of violence. They want activities that give the appearance of creating change right now...marches protests, printing T-shirts to make awareness” (WZ-SA-NP)	Challenges of working with grassroots organising			
“Implement high standards for organisational governance with regard to general accountability, financial management and accountability, the role and functioning of the board, accountability to constituents and risk management” (Scenario planning report)	Effective managers and leaders	Professional organisational managers and leaders	Identities	
“Once leaders take their position as director they tend to appoint quite weak people to the positions below them so that they are not a threat to the director.” (WZ-SA-NP)	Organisations driven by individuals’ need for profile		Identities	
“I have a passion and then what I start identifying in this organisation is me. So if you attack the organisation, you’re attacking me. It is difficult letting go or separating from.” (QC-SA-NP)	Actors becoming attached to organisational processes and structures		Identities	

Table 3.5 – Data structure - Analysis of the influence of institutional complexity on efforts to construct collective action

Core themes	Empirical themes	Illustrative data
Context		
Perceived need for alignment	Need to integrate as funding contracts	“To me it’s a no brainer. None of these organisations are seriously viable in the long run. The only future is that they all come together and integrate in some way.” (HB-ROI-NP)
	Scale of challenges requires alignment of available resources	“And then you think also about the nature of the problem. The problem is huge. One organisation no matter how small the township is, is going to achieve the type of change that we want. So the many the better.” (NF-SA-NP)
	Funder perceptions of overlapping goals and duplication	“Replacing the funding you’re getting from us is not a realistic option, so there needs to be some thinking about how is the sector going to be post Atlantic and that means that you need to be talking to each other about some sort of consolidation, strategic alliances, mergers whatever.” (RO-ROI-F)
	Desire for greater co-ordination & central control on the part of nonprofit	And you see in a way I’m almost contradicting myself because I have people saying don’t let people push you into doing things but where Atlantic is the sole funder in relation to Older and Bolder for example I actually think Atlantic should intervene. (GK-ROI-NP)
	Leadership needed to make sense of common cause	“People are not rising to the surface who can galvanise everybody.” (PQ-SA-NP)
	Need for strong, united voice on to make case to public and policy makers	“My hope is that they do and that there is sort of more synergy between organisations and there be a stronger voice against politicians trying to make changes.” (GZ-SA-NP)

Ability of foundation to convene but not direct	Greater level of interaction and discussion between actors in the field due to foundation sponsored dialogues	“...introduced to a whole other cluster of people or experiences or whether that was just being challenged to think differently because Atlantic’s experience in other places would have been brought to bear on maybe their interpretation of how Ireland should be. And I think that was all very positive and I really would have got a buzz out of that over the years because it was stretching you. It was actually giving you new opportunities.” (KA-ROI-NP)
	Perception that ownership of collective action by organisations reduced the more the foundation instigated	“Obviously the problem with that was it was donor driven and I think that was one of the, in the death knell of the JWG [Joint Working Group], I think that was one of the things that came up. You know “the donors wanted us to come together”.”(KC-SA)
	Desire by organisations for clear direction from foundation but with caveat that initiatives shouldn’t be foundation led	“I said they gave too much without enough guidance. And sometimes people are not ready...this is a cop out statement actually” (QC-SA-NP)
	Desire by foundation for clear, bold collective vision amongst organisations	“We were trying to say to them, “you really are and you really need to get to grips with this”. And I suppose the way I kept presenting to them was this is an opportunity, we are giving you an opportunity that’s well resourced. There’s very good people to facilitate you to address these key strategic issues, now it’s up to you to avail of this opportunity or not but it won’t come around again.” (KQ-ROI-NP)
	Impact where foundation followed initiatives instigated by organisations	“So there was quite a lot of boundary really pushing, things that Atlantic was willing to fund. You don’t see necessarily funded anywhere else really...If there could be more funders like that.” (KC-SA-NP)

Multiple enchantments	Drawn to aspects of goals/strategies in “other” institutional logics	“The social movement concept is an ideal to strive towards and should be supported and encouraged.” (Ageing Commission Report-ROI)
	Aspects of shared collective identities based on previous campaigns	“They brought this kind of universal sense that human rights are indivisible, you can’t pick and choose your human rights and if you’re moving from a basically from a dictatorship to a democracy you can’t kind of be selective about what you include and exclude.” (HR-SA-F)
Divided by devotion	Some actors adhering closely to goals, identities and strategies in single logic	“I think there’s a need to locate our experiences within the broader South African experience and then to kind of work from there. Because I think increasingly what’s happening is that there’s almost like a dislocation and exceptionalising the experiences of lesbian and gay people.” (AY-SA-NP)
	Goals and strategies embedded in alternative logics produce cognitive dissonance	“It became a nonsense discourse about post-colonial, black, lesbian... And repetitively so...it never got unstuck.” (PQ-SA-NP)
	Leaders seen as closely identifying with own organisations	“In some instances individuals had been the ones who started the organisation. They had founded it, they had vested interests. And they were passionate about it and I’m sure they still are passionate about it but not to the extent where they are adopting change” (PI-ROI-NP)
Interactions		
Alignment of difference through ambiguity	Maintaining a lack of clarity about competing goals and strategies	“My experience was that organisations probably didn’t send their senior people [to Board meetings of Older & Bolder], they sent their next in line because they weren’t sure about it. So you were never really getting the face of who the real person that was running the organisation.” (KA-ROI-NP)

	Core group making sense of issues to different audiences	“They were the two key people and they managed to pull the community together behind that demand [Gay marriage].” (HR-SA-F)
Organisational competition	Importance of individual, strong professional organisations for advancing programmes and campaigns	“It’s given them stability. It’s enabled them to do a lot of things...like policy and research all the other kind of building of organisational structure.” (ZF-ROI-NP)
	Ingrained history of small organisations working on specific issues	“I mean they’re much better when they get into doing the things themselves and I suppose overall and it’s my biggest reservation about even speaking about the sector.” (HB-ROI-NP)
	Individual organisations prioritising own profile and funding as ends in themselves	“I mean of course there’s also the pragmatic issue of funding, which divides all organisations, in a sense that everyone sees themselves in a competitive space.” (HK-ROI-NP)
	Formal organisational structures and processes influence how actors interpret and frame issues	“So you get a group and I find myself within it you know Professional Queers and it’s quite easy to get into the number crunching and the donor reports and you know the output driven work and actually lose the critical faculty.” (KC-SA-NP)
	Symbolic importance of individual organisations	“In LGBTI it’s testimonial, it’s experiential... I’m going to do this, I have a passion and then I start identifying in, this organisation is me.” (QC-SA-NP)
	Need to prioritise own cause over collective cause as funding reduces	“I can’t bring that on [collaboration] because I’m still trying to find time to do my own work. And I think it I’m speaking for many others that they weren’t prepared to take on something extra because there’s just not the resources to do that.” (GZ-SA-NP)
Constructing	Highlighting the threats from powerful	“It is paradoxical, but one of the things that

common external enemy	external actors to commonly valued goals	holds organisations and people in the sector together, is repression and a hostile operating environment.” (Scenario meeting note SA)
	Need for united voice to be heard amongst competing demands by others outside the field	“I got feedback from the [government] officials at that meeting with them, who said "Christ would somebody tell the Ageing Sector to get their act together and help us, the officials, to come up with something that we can sell".”(SA-ROI-F)
Conflict during attempts to create alignment	Overt clashes based on framing of competing goals, identities and strategies	“It [focusing exclusively on the rape of black lesbians] begins to vilify certain groups...So it says black men in townships and then it becomes a whole un-African thing...it’s about dispelling some of those myths which become very difficult to counter” (HY-SA-NP)
	Ceremonial participation and passive-aggressive resistance to collective action	“I would sense there was a lot of stage management, comments coming out for the sake of it but, there wasn’t any true engagement. People were watching each other” (BA-ROI-C)
	Assertion of organisations of supremacy over collective structures	“One of the early fall outs of that phase that we belong to was the success of this Older and Bolder was actually going to do the very opposite of what we wanted it to do, which was to swallow up the smaller organisations and become the big combine.” (KA-ROI-NP)
Outcomes		
Temporary alignment	Fragile collective action	“I think there was a very broader alliance of organisations, even though they were kicking and screaming at times, did in fact converge around the same sex marriage campaign in quite a meaningful way.” (KC-SA-NP)
	Perceived need for strategic clarity for collective action to continue	“But more than anything else what struck me most sharply on the critical side was the

		absence of any coherence and agreement about what the priority issues were.” (YA-ROI-NP)
Segmentation – Bounded collective action	Agreement to engage in technical co-operation amongst subgroups on immediate issues rather than shared mission	“They were actually making decisions on very fundamental issues that would have long term implications but they were making those decisions based on today’s concerns rather than thinking ahead and say imagining a different future.” (MI-ROI-C)
	Modest collective action goals amongst subgroups	“A lot of people involved at this point is they are quite focussed on implementation. And you know there’s also a growing group of people, implementors saying if it ever goes there again we’re stepping out and be just a sub-group and continue with our work.” (PQ-SA-NP)
	Greater alignment amongst goals, strategies and identities within smaller group	“It was in a sense a natural progression by the like-minded ones.” (XQ-ROI-F)
	Impacts in discrete areas	“Issue-based stuff was most successful. Shared agreements as in a service level agreement between 2 or 3 organisations do exist.” (QC-SA-NP)
Segmentation – Collective Inaction	Organisations prioritise their own specific objectives in absence of agreement about collective action	“Well you have to choose. Do you do something that’s falls 100% into your vision or do you help drive the Triple Seven Campaign. So I think I don’t know. I wish things could be done differently.” (JC-SA-NP)
	Regret, confusion and frustration at inability to organise collectively across different institutional logics	“Two of them between them have alienated the 3 organisations and you know we have an awful lot of unravelling to do.” (ER-ROI-NP)

Chapter 4- The field of ageing nonprofit organisations in the Republic of Ireland: The first research setting

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter the first research setting of the nonprofit ageing field in the Republic of Ireland is described and the institutional logics prevalent in this field are derived. As is outlined in Chapter 3, this analysis involves starting off from the interpretations and frames of the actors and building up gradually to the institutional logics. The chapter starts by introducing the wider context within which the ageing field is located, describing the development of the Irish nonprofit sector and providing a brief history of ageing issues. The development of the nonprofit organisational field which focuses on ageing issues is then outlined. This context is based mainly on published books and reports which are all referenced. A brief overview of the involvement of the Atlantic Philanthropies in the field is provided. The efforts to instigate the construction of collective action in this field are then introduced. This section provides an overview of these efforts and is based on the recollections of the nonprofit leaders, foundation staff and consultants involved in these processes as well as documentary records, minutes of meetings and external evaluation of these initiatives.

The next section then provides a more detailed analysis of the interpretations and framing of these efforts to construct collective action, relying primarily on the nonprofit leaders who were centrally involved in these processes. These individual interpretations and frames are gradually abstracted to second order themes across the actors interviewed. These second order themes were selectively coded into groups of goals, strategies and identities by exploring the whether they were co-implicated within actors framing of priority problems and solutions that should be addressed collectively by the organisational field. After deriving these logics by abstracting from the frames of actors, more attention was then paid to the extent to which these logics corresponded to the interpretations and frames of actors and in particular to whether these logics were ideologically adhered to by actors or whether actors were influenced by more than one logic.

4.2 Background to the ageing field in the Republic of Ireland

4.2.1 The nonprofit sector in Ireland

The ageing nonprofit organisations in Ireland needs to be understood against the backdrop of the nonprofit sector in Ireland and the wider social and economic developments in Ireland. The nonprofit sector in Ireland is highly dependent upon the Irish state for funding (Donoghue, Prizeman, O'Regan, & Noel, 2006). Over the twentieth century most of the health and education services were funded by the state but delivered by private charitable organisations owned and managed by Catholic religious orders. These organisations formed the largest component of the Irish nonprofit sector. The Irish nonprofit sector is described in international comparative context as 'state dominant', reflecting a long history of sector-led delivery of public services, in particular in education and health (Donoghue et al., 2006). For example, more than 90% of the state's primary schools are voluntary organisations funded by the state. This intertwining of voluntary organising and public service delivery has resulted in a high degree of dependency on the state. Public service-delivering nonprofit organisations are quasi-public bodies, obliged to operate to the standards and conditions of state enterprises but often without the state infrastructure to support all functions (Donoghue et al., 2006). More than 60% of the sector's income comes from state sources (Donoghue et al., 2006) and reduction in state expenditure on services as a result of the fiscal crisis resulted in significant financial challenges for nonprofit organisations over the period 2008 to 2012 (Harvey, 2013).

Outside of the relationship with the state, voluntary organisations are currently struggling to raise private resources. Recent annual fundraising surveys document annual significant declines in fundraising revenue (Kelleher & O'Connor, 2010, 2011). Organised philanthropy, including the foundation sector, is small and shrinking; the two major foundations – the Atlantic Philanthropies (see Appendix 1) and the One Foundation - are spend-down foundations that will cease to operate in Ireland by 2017. As outlined in Donnelly-Cox & Healy (2013) nonprofit organisations in Ireland are not entirely passive in a hostile environment where both public and philanthropic funding is shrinking. In various ways they are responding to and also influencing their operating environments, bringing about changes that in turn affect the range of options available (Donnelly-Cox & Cannon, 2010). The most obvious response is economising or cutting back on expenditure (Donnelly-Cox & Cannon, 2010). Harvey (2013) estimates that community and voluntary groups reduced expenditure

by 35% over the period 2008 to 2012 resulting in staff being made redundant and services reducing or closing.

Some of the most influential organisations from the nonprofit sector were invited in 1997, along with unions, employers and farmers into negotiation on national partnership agreements which decided in a neo-corporatist manner on national wage agreements and anti-poverty programmes (O'Donnell & Thomas, 2006). The range of nonprofit sector actors involved in these partnership meetings expanded over the period from 1997 to 2006. Whilst these partnership arrangements fractured with the advent of the financial crisis in 2008, critics have argued that this led to a co-option of the sector and silencing of dissent which Kirby (2010: 107) refers to as “bringing civil society to heel” and argues that this is an effort to shift organisations towards service delivery and away from more challenging forms of advocacy. Acheson (2013) however argues that there is some limited evidence of grassroots advocacy. He concludes however, that many of the nonprofit organisations are struggling to survive and in the main have not been able to gain traction with their advocacy.

“The historical role of grassroots civic action to counter structural deficiencies in the Irish welfare state model provides an alternative narrative for at least some organizations to turn to. The emergence of many of these organizations in the last recession in the 1980s suggests that there is a history that activists can draw on...In the absence of political debate about what sort of welfare state needs to survive in Ireland after the dust has settled, there are few opportunities for interest groups to contribute. In short, nobody in particular is listening” (Acheson, 2013: 125)

Donnelly-Cox & Healy (2013) find similarly that the responses of Irish nonprofit organisations to the fiscal crisis have not been as robust as observers might expect and that these organisations are struggling to cope with organisational change they are experiencing as their funding contracts and their relationships with the state become more challenging. They find that in a context of austerity

“...the greatest challenge for both funders and nonprofit organizations will be to dis-embed themselves from the cognitive patterns of thinking which have become institutionalized within the sector” (Donnelly-Cox & Healy, 2013: 110)

4.2.2 Ageing in the Republic of Ireland

The ageing organisations in the Republic of Ireland focus on a range of issues of concern to older adults ranging from social isolation to poverty. There has been a substantial reduction in consistent poverty amongst older adults in Ireland over the last ten years resulting primarily

from an increased level of social transfers to older adults in the form of pensions (Prunty, 2008). Between 2004 and 2008 the risk of poverty for older adults more than halved from 24.7% to 11.1% and the amount of older people in consistent poverty reduced from 3.2% to 1.3% (Hillyard, Patsios, Machniewski, Taylor, & Lyons, 2010). The perceptions of older adults of their own welfare and quality of life also tend to be positive compared to international norms in other developed countries (The Irish Longitudinal Study on Ageing, 2011).

Alongside this positive story on incomes and self-assessed life satisfaction, there are also concerns about the quality of health care provided and ageist attitudes in wider society. A survey by The Department of Health and Children, (2002) found negative attitudes towards older people by both health professionals and service users. O'Shea (2003) found that life-expectancy amongst Irish older adults was poor and that this was in part due to ageist attitudes amongst service providers. A review of the literature on perceptions of ageing in Ireland by Lyons (2009) revealed that the majority of studies found at least some element of negative stereotype associated with ageing and a discourse analysis of Irish newspapers found a prevalence of ascribed identities of older adults as victims and frail and vulnerable (Fealy & McNamara, 2009).

Older adults are benignly viewed by wider society with many seeing them paternalistically as citizens that need to be looked after (Fealy & McNamara, 2009) and more as passive recipients of social care and funding than active citizens who advocate and input into the policies and practices which affect them (Pierce, 2008). These ageist attitudes are seen as ascribing an unattractive identity to older adults albeit one that is seen as deserving (Fealy & McNamara, 2009; Lyons, 2009; Pierce, 2008). Pierce (2008) references the advocacy work of some of the organisations studied in this dissertation as being indicative of more of efforts to shift the social construction of ageing in Ireland towards a more active, positive conception of ageing and away from ageing being perceived as frail and a potential mushrooming, dependency burden. The overarching context is therefore of an older adult population which is ascribed a relatively passive role in society but which benefits from transfers and which perceives itself as largely content.

4.2.3 The ageing nonprofit organisational field in the Republic of Ireland

The ageing organisations advocating for the welfare and right of older adults are relatively newly established compared to other elements of the Irish nonprofit sector (Acheson & Harvey, 2009; O'Shea, 2003). Many of the organisations originated from a voluntary desire to provide local services at a community level and vary in their emphasises from piloting services targeted at vulnerable older adults, to promoting the civic involvement of older adults to campaigning for the social welfare rights and entitlements of older adults. The engagement of the organisations with policy-makers was historically limited. According to a report by the National Economic and Social Forum (2005), older people in the Republic of Ireland do not have a strong advocacy voice and the groups representing their interests are fragmented. O'Shea (2003) and Acheson & Harvey (2009) found that the state has not promoted or facilitated the involvement of older adults in the design and implementation of policy. Acheson & Harvey (2009) highlight that many of the ageing organisations nationally have a voluntary ethos and focus on delivering relatively small-scale services. O'Shea (2003) states that the majority of ageing projects are run by NGOs where they

“develop from the bottom up, sometimes with little support from official sources. Seventy percent of projects came about because of an initiative taken by the organisation providing the service”.

He also highlights that these organisations are

“usually small in scale, with two thirds having less than fifty participants per week and one third having less than twenty...Projects are mainly staffed by part-time voluntary workers.” (O'Shea, 2003: 20)

He calls for a greater involvement by older adults and their representatives in the design of policy and practices focused on older adults (O'Shea, 2003).

Despite this under involvement of an older adult voice in the policy and design process, there is a recognition of the latent power of older adults and a fear by politicians to cut benefits or entitlements which affect them (Collins, 2013). The government has not reduced the state pension (provided as a welfare payment to all adults sixty-five years of age and over) despite the fact that most other welfare payments have been significantly reduced over the course of the fiscal crisis (Donnelly-Cox & Healy, 2013). An effort by the government to restrict an entitlement of free medical care to adults over seventy years old as part of a response to the deteriorating fiscal situation resulted in street protests by older adults and a climb down by the Irish government in the face of this pressure and a reluctance during the future years to cut

entitlements of older adults for fear of provoking a similar response (Acheson, 2013; Collins, 2013; Pope, 2013).

The study focused on those organisations that were engaged in representing ageing issues or organising older adults at a national level. Using the relational definition of the field introduced in Chapter 2, these organisations took each other into account but also interacted to varying degrees over the period studied. Seven organisations were significantly involved in these efforts. Leaders of these organisations were interviewed along with funders and people who chaired or facilitated efforts to convene these organisations to discuss area of possible collective action. Five of these organisation provided voluntary services and had a small professional core staff. Two of the organisations were larger charities focused primarily on issues of concern to older adults. Whilst these two larger organisations were actively involved in many of the discussions they perceived themselves and were perceived by others to be less centrally concerned with the future of the ageing field in Ireland as they had other programmes and interests outside of ageing.

4.2.4 The support of the Atlantic Philanthropies

Many of the organisations active at a national level promoting the rights and welfare of older adults had been in receipt of substantial, private philanthropic funding from the Atlantic Philanthropies which enabled them to increase the scale of their staff and also engage in specific programmes of work and advocacy campaigns over the period 2005 to 2012. Over this period, the foundation provided support of \$25 million to strengthen the field of organisations. This support was focused on strengthening the individual organisations, often through support for the core professional staff of the organisation and the foundation also initiated and funded a number of efforts to construct collective action amongst these organisations. As the foundation prepared to exit this field there were intensive discussions underway amongst these organisations about which capacities needed to be sustained and how this could be achieved.

A number of initiatives were instigated by the foundation to explore how the field could be collectively strengthened. The predominant first impressions of the ageing field amongst

interviewees (nonprofit leaders, foundation staff and consultants), was of a group of small, fragmented organisations that had little history of collaborative activities. The foundation had developed a strategic plan in ageing which was intended to guide its grant making. One of the central strategies was to build the organisational capacity of organisations. As the 2005 Annual Report of the foundation sets out one of the three objectives of the ageing programme in Ireland was to “amplify the voice of older adults” by strengthening the organisational capacity and field infrastructure of older adult NGOs. The main strategies employed to do this were

- building collaborations among key stakeholders in ageing
- strengthening the capacity of NGOs by developing appropriate physical and organisational infrastructure
- leveraging resources and securing funds to ensure the sustainability of key organisations, coalitions and networks
- developing the ageing field and senior services leadership development programmes
- hosting and supporting meetings of key stakeholders, conferences and other forms of knowledge-sharing (Annual Report of the Atlantic Philanthropies, 2005).

At the outset of the programme, the organisations were brought together for a workshop in a hotel in Dublin where according to one person present that those present “weren’t comfortable in front of each other, weren’t familiar with each other, rarely collaborated or even talked to each other”. One leader referenced the lack of prior interaction by remarking that it took four years after taking up his position for him to meet with the Chief Executive Officer of another ageing organisation (KA-ROI-NP). Whilst there were some occasional contacts prior to 2004 the level of interaction increased dramatically after this period.

Following on from this initial convening of the organisations, seven organisations received support to strengthen their organisations individually. In addition, following consultations with the nonprofit leaders, the foundation also engaged in a number of initiatives to augment the advocacy and policy influencing capacity of the field. A study tour by a number of the NGO leaders, academics and companies interested in ageing technology was undertaken to Scandinavia. There were a number of advocacy campaigns and networking initiatives funded by the Atlantic Philanthropies to increase the impact of the ageing organisations in the

development and formulation of public policy. One of the most prominent collective efforts was the Older & Bolder campaign, which developed from a collective campaign amongst a group of older adult organisations to influence a budgeting cycle into an advocacy organisation.

4.3 An overview of two cases of efforts to construct collective action in the ageing field in Ireland

4.3.1 The Older & Bolder Campaign

The Older & Bolder campaign was focused on bringing together the ageing organisations that were concerned with advocating for the rights and welfare of older adults to professionally advocate for these rights and entitlements. Initially, Older & Bolder was set up in 2006 as a campaign by five ageing organisations for a commitment to national strategy on positive ageing. The campaign was successful in persuading the incoming government to include a reference to a Positive Ageing Strategy in its 2007 Programme for Government. The campaign was carried out primarily by communications consultants and was seen at that stage as a temporary coming together of organisations.

After this initial first phase, the organisations engaged in a planning process with a management consultant to plan out future work. As a result of this exercise funding was sought from the Atlantic Philanthropies for a grant to develop a core staff and to create an organisation that would facilitate joint advocacy work on a permanent basis. In 2008, the Atlantic Philanthropies provided a grant of €2.03m over three years. In 2008 Older & Bolder hired two full-time staff and established a Board of directors, constituted from staff of the ageing organisations and became incorporated as a company limited by guarantee. It also set about recruiting a campaigns researcher and policy and campaigns officer as temporary staff on three year fixed contracts. It developed its own mission to work for

“An Ireland that affirms ageing and the rights of all older people, enabling everyone to live and die with confidence and dignity as equal, respected and involved members of society”

It set out in the next phase of its work to influence the design and implementation of the National Ageing strategy and campaigned to defend the state pension (in the context of cutbacks to most other welfare payments during the financial crisis), campaign on other

specific entitlements for older adults in the annual budgets and to influence policy in relation to caring for older adults in their homes. It was broadly perceived as successful in this work and an external evaluation found

“The results of this final evaluation are strongly in favour of Older & Bolder and its achievements over the period 2010 to 2012. The results show much positive movement in terms of distance travelled. This is particularly evident in the campaign work, achievements in relation to NPAS [National Positive Ageing Strategy] and the branding of O&B [Older & Bolder] as a recognised alliance and collective voice representing and advocating on behalf of older people in Ireland. By the end of 2012, Older & Bolder was recognised as a significant voice for the ageing sector in Ireland” (Eustace & Clarke, 2013: 49)

Although the ageing organisations were represented on the board of Older & Bolder, many leaders did not engage actively and were often represented at meetings by someone other than the CEOs. As Older & Bolder became the locus of much of the advocacy work around national policy towards older adults and campaigning around budgets, many of the ageing organisations focused instead on developing their programmatic work, which was more focused on providing volunteering support work to directly enhance the lives of older adults. As this situation progressed, Older & Bolder began to see itself as an organisation independent of the ageing organisations that sat on its board, as it received nearly its entire budget from the private foundation. It had consciously moved from being a “campaign” to becoming an “alliance” with its own core staff and became a permanent entity. In 2011 and 2012 significant tensions emerged between most of the organisations on the board of Older & Bolder (described below). This culminated in the organisations asserting their authority as board members and winding up Older & Bolder in 2013.

4.3.2 Efforts to develop greater collaboration and integration amongst the existing ageing organisations

There were a number of broader efforts made by Atlantic to convene the organisations to discuss collective action and future collaboration within the field. A series of facilitated meetings took place between the CEOs over the 2008 and 2009 period to explore areas in which the organisations might collaborate and how they might do this. This involved an initial “visioning” exercise, which was then followed by more practical discussions of how the organisations might save on more functional costs. This became known as the collaboration initiative. A consultant who facilitated the process described how she interpreted the progress

So what emerged from that process was on the one hand a very super high level... Nirvana...(laughter)...they could all sign up to it but it would take about a hundred years to get to it, but anyway that and then at a really micro-level, oh they'd be prepared to I don't know have a shared...no they weren't prepared to have a shared database of contacts...but you know share pay-roll processing systems, really back officey stuff and then that, so that was produced initially (HZ-ROI-C).

Despite the fact that this exercise concluded in 2009 with the signing of a memorandum of understanding between the organisations, in the interviews people struggled to recall what had been agreed and generally there was a perception that this had not resulted in either an ambitious vision for the sector or concrete proposals on how organisations could share costs bases. Following on from this, a Commission on Ageing was formally established in January 2011 comprising four leading actors from the ageing organisations, an academic with expertise in ageing and chaired by a leading change management consultant. The Commission was instigated by Atlantic and was intended to generate fresh thinking

"to identify and assess the system and civic society changes that will be required if the vision of Ireland as one of the best countries for all of us to grow old in is to be realised." (The Ageing Commission Final Report, 2011)

It issued its report in June 2011 with concluding the following

"A programme of specific initiatives should be defined to provide for the substantial development of the sector that will be necessary if the sector is to be an even more effective and sustainable agent of change. The principal template against which the current status of the Age NGO sector will be assessed is the profile of a robust and effective sector set out in Section 5 below. This will inform the sector strengthening agenda.

- **The social movement concept is an ideal to strive towards and should be supported and encouraged.**
- **Further investigation should be conducted to assess the benefits and applicability of the different DaneAge, AgeUK and the Flemish Council of the Elderly models and approaches in an Irish context.**
- **Further work needs to be done to advance the development of a community foundation for older people and the creation of a comprehensive database.**
- **The focus of the next phase of work should be to assess the nature of the journey that would be required to create the even more effective and sustainable Age NGO sector that is envisaged. Some further consideration could also be usefully given at this stage to prioritise the levers for change. That is, those elements of the system, which, if changed, will have the most beneficial outcomes for older people.**
- **There should be wider engagement and involvement with other relevant actors in mapping the way forward for the sector in the next phase."(The Ageing Commission Final Report, 2011)**

There was consensus amongst the interviewees that little had happened directly as a result of the Age Commission process and many of the participants and facilitators reported that it had been a frustrating exercise with little concrete measures concluded. One typical comment from a nonprofit leader who participated was

“It seems so irrelevant now. Nothing has come out of it. A bit of a talking shop. Now at the time it was terribly difficult...We had so many meetings and all the paperwork hopefully did it has gone into the ether. I couldn’t even tell you now what we agreed. Except maybe all the sitting down, and all the paperwork will hopefully result in something.” (ER-ROI-NP).

The people who chaired and facilitated these discussions also believed that little had been achieved and that there was little desire on the part of the participants to develop an ambitious, realistic plan for the ageing field in Ireland.

Following on from these discussions at the Commission, leaders of three of the nonprofit organisations started to have separate discussions about collaborating more closely going forward. This became known as the Tri-Party Initiative. After some initial challenges the three organisations continued to meet on a regular basis and involved an independent chair to help facilitate the discussions. These discussions between the three organisations involved some tentative progress towards greater collaboration around specific, bounded projects and making each other aware of the work they were engaged in so that they did not operate at cross purposes.

Table 4.1 – Chronology of collective action efforts in the ageing field in the Republic of Ireland

Timeline	Significant events in the development of collective action
2003	The Atlantic Philanthropies agrees to implement an ageing grant-making strategy in the Republic of Ireland. One of the sub-components of that strategy relates to strengthening the capacity of the nonprofit organisations working in the field and to strengthen the advocacy voice of older adults.
2004	An initial convening of nonprofit organisations focusing on ageing issues is organised by the Atlantic Philanthropies at the Aisling Hotel in Dublin, a working group established and strategy consultants commissioned to facilitate a process aimed at the “development of a dynamic, authoritative and effective NGO infrastructure for older adults”. The working group meets and begins to discuss the main joint areas of concern to these organisations
2005	Commissioning of communications consultants by the Atlantic Philanthropies to explore a strategy to combat ageism
2006	The Older & Bolder initiative is established by five nonprofit organisations as “a loose collective” to organise a campaign driven by a communications firm to influence political parties in the run up to the 2007 Irish general election.
2007	The nonprofit organisations in Older & Bolder identify the need for eight capacities in the field – advocacy, communications, awareness-raising, research and knowledge development, media training, policy analysis, alliance building and support mobilisation. There is an agreement to seek a professional staff to establish a new structure
2008	Seven ageing nonprofit organisations engage in business planning meetings to discuss overlapping agendas and costs and to explore possible areas where they can collaborate at a practical level to reduce costs facilitated by

	strategy consultants
2009	Older & Bolder incorporates as a limited company, establishes a board of governance from the senior staff of the member nonprofit organisations and hires a chief executive, a policy/researcher and administrative support. The Atlantic Philanthropies provides a grant of €2.023m to support this professionalisation. A group of nonprofit organisations sign a memorandum of understanding agreeing to make moves to collaborate on sharing human resources expertise and other back office functions, explore sharing of offices and to use joint purchasing power.
2010	The Atlantic Philanthropies establishes the Ageing Commission with six members made up of representatives from some of the ageing nonprofit organisations and an academic, with a business strategy consultant as chair and two administrative staff as a secretariat. The remit of the Commission is to develop recommendations on the future needs of older adults and the type of ageing field that is needed going forward and it agrees to meet monthly.
2011	The Board of Older & Bolder meet to discuss the sustainability of the organisation. The executive develops up a plan for the organisation and submits a proposal to Atlantic. Some members of the board signal that they disagree with this proposal The Ageing Commission produces its final report in June but with little enthusiasm amongst the nonprofit organisations for implementing the recommendations. Talks start amongst three nonprofit organisations in October regarding closer collaboration outside of the structures of Older & Bolder or the Ageing Commission. Atlantic provides funding of €176,817 to facilitate these discussions
2012	A meeting is held by nonprofit organisations without the Older & Bolder executive staff present on the future of Older & Bolder. Agreement is reached that Older & Bolder will be wound up over the first six months of 2013 and the Chief Executive and the Chair of the Board of Older & Bolder resign. The three organisations, known as the Tri-Party, agree to collaborate on specific areas of overlap. Two of these tentatively discuss a merger but this does not proceed and instead they agree to integrate their programmes more in specific areas of programmatic overlap.

The following two sections summarise the framing of actors in the ageing field as they discussed the future of the organisational field and engaged in effort to collectively establish a central advocacy platform. The actors’ framing of these issues is summarised in the first order themes in Table 3.3.

4.4 The framing of future of the organisational field

The goals articulated by the actors in the field tended to reference large-scale social problems, which affected older adults such as ageism, isolation or inadequacies in the transport and health care systems. These were not goals in the sense of an articulated objective that the actors would like to see achieved but rather more descriptions of the nature of the problem. In the case of ageism, this was seen by many of the nonprofit actors as a key underlying issue, which needed to be addressed. According to the Ageing Commission report, in which some of the interviewees were key actors "Ageism is a primary root cause that adversely impacts the attitudes, behaviours, values and norms of society" and this was perceived as resulting in a

diminished quality of life. It was seen as often yielding an unconscious influence over the how the wider population perceived older adults and how older adults perceived themselves.

“There is a huge level of unconscious ageism. You can see it in the media, you can see it in policy makers, you can see it in a sense in the lack of importance that’s been attached politically to the role of ageing or older people.” (HK-ROI-NP)

Social isolation was also highlighted as another critical issue which needs to be addressed and which was specific to older adults, with protecting social facilities within communities as an essential lifeline. Despite the fact that ageism was seen as an issue for all older adults, there is a subgroup of older adults who were seen as particularly vulnerable

“Quality of life for too many older people is unnecessarily poor and is changeably so, there’s a cohort of about 5 % of the population who are frail, who have disabilities, who are extremely lonely, isolated without contact suffer terrible health problems and a health system that could be an awful lot better in supporting them. A lot of time, those health problems are accompanied with terrible pain, living life in pain without a joined up health system that understands their whole experience. So they don’t have access to transport so within that quality of life argument they are unnecessarily going into nursing homes and unnecessary hospital admissions because they are not supported to be able to stay living in their own homes and communities. The transport system doesn’t really meet their needs to get out and about. There’s issues, there is ageism, there is discrimination within the law and there’s terrible loneliness.” (YA-ROI -NP)

There was an element of tension highlighted in some of the interviews between the framing of older adults as vulnerable dependants or as active citizens capable of making a larger contribution to society. Many of the organisations that were central to these discussions had been formed more around the issues of active citizenship and countering social isolation rather than as advocates for the more socially marginalised, although many of the interviewees described how these organisations had shifted position to be more focused on the frail/vulnerable constituency. One interviewee described how when one ageing organisation was set up, it did not allow people with disabilities to join as it wanted to promote an active image of older adults.

In terms of the framing of the organisational field, there was a widespread articulation of the need for greater alignment of the available resources although there was little agreement on how this could be achieved. There was a shared perception that the organisational field was fragmented, underfunded and lacked a shared advocacy voice. Many felt that this had improved somewhat and moved from a position where interactions amongst the organisations had been rare prior to them being convened by the Atlantic Philanthropies.

There was some frustration expressed by interviewees who were either recent entrants into the field or funders that the collective goals were not more specific and actionable. For some, the goals which the nonprofit leaders collectively framed were more vague descriptions of problems and principles rather than a manifesto to bring about social change and in particular there was a criticism of these problems being highlighted as a "laundry list" (XQ-ROI-F) rather than as a coherent set of prioritised achievable goals. This was contrasted with other nonprofit fields in the Republic of Ireland such as the children's field and the women's movement where some of the newer entrants to the field believed there were clearer goals underpinning the collective action amongst organisations. Some believed that at the heart of the limited collective action was a desire to focus on their own specific area and organisation

“None of it was out of malice or spite, it was out of “This is our organisation and this is what we do, we’ll build our own strength and we’ll go our own way. And this is our work and this is what we need to do”, which is admirable and they do it well and they’re really good at what they do but I just don’t think they saw the need, the benefit or where they would get the time to connect with each other and have joint projects you know.” (QB-ROI-F)

There was also a perception amongst the nonprofit leaders of the challenges of developing collective action and their inability to construct common definitions of problems and solutions

“I think what is missing from within the organisations is to instinctively be able to go to the content of what needs to change and be creative and robust about building the evidence about what could be done to change it. They don’t do that...So instead what they do and some of them are very good at it, is they go to the principles. I think they’re stuck back at principles. So in other words the principle of tackling ageism, very important, they certainly convinced me and I needed a lot of convincing at the beginning...that it was one of the underpinning limitations or factors out there that had to be addressed because it’s not obvious to an outsider. But they are right it needs to be addressed. But beyond that ageing issue there’s substantive ones around health care systems, pension systems, employment entitlements, legislative discrimination. It’s not a comfort zone.” (YA-ROI-NP).

In terms of the prognostic framing as described in Chapter 2 (i.e. what should be done to address the above problems) there was a discussion of creating a social movement, defined in this context as a mass membership movement with political influence similar in some respects to American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) in the United States and DaneAge in Denmark. The primary aim of this organisation would be to represent the interests of its members and to make advances in terms of both the image of ageing and the material interests of its members. Many of the actors felt that this was the appropriate strategy and that there should be a social movement for older people, although there were some differences around the extent to which this could be engineered by established organisations or whether it needed

to be driven by a more spontaneous sense of injustice amongst older adults and questioned whether this was a realistic proposition. Despite the fact that a consultant developed up a concept paper with specific suggestions on how greater collaboration could be forged between the organisations to develop a more representative field with more active participation by older adults, the organisations did not progress the idea. Some felt that this was too ambitious a step, too soon although they recognised that a broad-based movement that could coherently represent and advocate for the interests of older adults was strongly desirable.

“I think now a couple of years ago [a consultant] wrote a paper for ... saying they must accelerate the social movement but he was talking about doing it from databases, buying addresses you know doing it we didn’t do it now. I couldn’t see it happening but anyway nobody else did it either. I actually thought we were so far from a movement of older people that it would be pointless.” (ER-ROI-NP)

Many of the actors from the ageing field, particularly those that had been in the field for some time, felt that the best way to proceed was to encourage greater collaboration amongst the organisations rather than establish new entities. This was not underpinned by a radical vision of what could be achieved by greater collaboration but rather was often the result of a perception of a future with a shrinking funding based for the field and the need to retain and strengthen a suite of programmes and a professional staff. One CEO described raising the prospect of a merger with another as

“I wonder did I say do you want to throw the two organisations in together. I may have said it you know.” (ER-ROI-NP)

Another described what she saw as lack of vision arising out "muddled thinking" on collaboration with no clear passion or driving vision behind it (HL-ROI-NP). Another actor described what he saw as the actors framing the needs of older adults based on the immediate, organisational concerns of today, rather than a vision of the future (CI-ROI-C). One CEO described how three CEOs had discussed collaboration, starting off with the existing capacities of the organisations and seeing what they could contribute

“We looked at, what are the bits of the sector that we’d hold between the three and it was ...And with the structures that we had in place. So it was that and finding well that’s what’s brining us together...between all of that what have you got.” (HG-ROI-NP)

In terms of framing the types of organisational changes which the incumbent actors within the field wanted to see, whilst radical changes like mergers were discussed these did not progress beyond the discussion phase. This was often to the frustration of the newer entrants, consultants and funders who often framed the need for more radical change, based on more

blue skies type approaches. The actors who had been there longer often start more from the perspective of securing the positions of the existing organisational capacities rather than from an ambitious vision of the future. Many of the consultants and funders saw this as reflecting a tendency on the part of the nonprofit leaders to instinctively view the field through the prism of their own organisations rather than to start from the a more visionary perspective of what older adults needed. The fact that the sector has become more professionalised with more paid staff also added to the perceived imperative to compete for funding.

“I think fear for their own survival, fear that another organisation might win out in the end. If we don’t keep it individual you know we may end up being the loser. Yeah a lot of fear, lack of imagination. I think they really can’t see outside their own organisations.” (MJ-ROI-F)

Some of the interviewees also highlighted the ways in which this framing of issues through the prism of their organisations by CEOs went beyond competition for resources and profile. There was a perception that some of the CEOs were closely identified with the organisations and that this raised a problem for the framing of collective action based on a common vision. Interviewees tended to see this as a result of the close identification of the CEOs with their organisations and the lack of resources historically to do more than preserve the status quo

“There is no question that these are great people, totally committed you know full of integrity, you know really wanting to do the right thing and so on but maybe not just having the capacity to make change in the radical way or even to envision change in the radical way, that was probably needed in the sector.” (MH-ROI-C).

Drawing on the above, the collective action framing by the nonprofit leaders of the type of field that would best suit the need of older adults in Ireland and interpretations by other actors within these processes, we can see that in terms of the “core tasks” of framing described in Chapter 3, the problem to be addressed is one of securing or enhancing the future of the existing organisations to deliver on their missions of providing services and promoting civic engagement. Despite the fact that many recognised the need for a strengthened field and the value of more social movement type engagements with older adults, they primarily saw the best way to advance the interests of older adults as incrementally growing the existing organisational structures which were focused more on voluntary self-help type models. The leaders identified closely with their own organisations and were perceived by others as having become ingrained into these roles and unable to imagine a different field. These incumbent leaders often struggled to see themselves delivering a radically different service, despite acknowledging that significant change was needed to represent and advocate for the interest of older adults.

“I suppose I’d really love to see in 5 years’ time, now I won’t be in the thick of it, a movement you could be proud of...We’re not strong because we don’t have older people behind us. We’re leading. It’s not older people who are leading yet.” (ER-ROI-NP)

According to some interviewees this resulted in the framing of vague shared goals in relation to the need for the organisational field to combating ageism and promote a positive, civically engaged vision of older adults, a recognition of the need for a stronger organisational field with more involvement from older adults but no shared framing of specific, actionable steps on how this could be advanced. Many of the interviewees expressed frustration that so much time had been given over to discussing the future of the field, that there was agreement that change was needed but that actionable strategies were not agreed.

As is outlined above, a more specific and bounded collaboration took place amongst three organisations. Mainly out of a sense of frustration with the efforts to establish collective action within the field and the Older & Bolder experience (described in more detail in the following section) three organisations that perceived themselves as sharing a compatible set of goals and identities came together to discuss collective action. However, this was a more bounded effort than the more fundamental exercise of the Ageing Commission and started from the point where the existing organisations were at rather than from the perspective of what older adults in Ireland need going forward. These discussions focused not on a radical envisioning of a different future, but on how the three organisations could better align their existing programmes. The discussions did explore the possibility of a merger between two of the organisations but this did not advance. Indeed the issue of organisational independence was a recurring theme in these discussions with progress happening primarily based on the existing organisations rather than radical restructuring. In the next section, efforts to establish a collective, central capacity to augment advocacy on ageing issues are explored

4.5 The framing of attempts to construct a common advocacy platform

This section focuses on interpretations of the actors in terms of the diagnosis of the need for an enhanced advocacy within the field, the decision to set up a separate organisation, Older & Bolder and how the nonprofit leaders’ views of this initiative changed over time. There was a shared perception within the field that the capacity to articulate clearly the position of older adults was an area that the organisations needed to augment and that this weakness was down

to the facts that the field had historically not engaged in effective, consistent lobbying of government. The organisations saw themselves as too small to be effective at lobbying at a national level on ageing issues and there was a perception that they would be stronger if they integrated more in these efforts. There was therefore a shared view of the problem to be addressed. As one leader highlighted at that time

“We began to say ‘lad’s if we don’t actually focus on how we’re going to deal with the HSE [Health Service Executive], which is now a national, nobody’s going to listen to us’.” (KA-ROI-NP)

For some this inexperience of the leadership in the advocacy space meant that the government did not need to take the organisations seriously

“Government though was let off the hook. The sector is remarkably immature in its ability to see what’s happening on the policy front.” (XQ-ROI-F)

The Atlantic Philanthropies after carrying out a review of the field and consulting with the existing nonprofit organisations identified the lack of advocacy skills as a shortcoming in the field. Older & Bolder was originally viewed by the foundation as a way to introduce additional capacity into the field whilst the individual organisations were being strengthened through individual grants to the organisations. The initial phase involved communications consultants working with a group of organisations and this was viewed positively by the organisations involved. The communications consultants acted as a secretariat to the group of organisations and co-ordinated and enacted a specific communications effort around the 2007 election campaign. The skills of the communications consultants were contracted in to conduct the lobbying and media campaign and there was no separate organisational capacity built. The main thrust of the campaign consisted of public information advertising around the needs of older adults in relation to health and welfare policies. This campaign was perceived by the actors as both generating positive public attention and impacting on policy-makers, judged by the creation of the position of Minister for Older People and the commitment to create a National Positive Ageing Strategy.

As we have seen above, the nonprofit leaders often referenced ageism as an underlying issue, which the field had to address but did not have a shared view of how best to engage with policy-makers in terms of addressing ageism or the types of concrete steps they should take to build an advocacy capacity. Many of the newer entrants to the field, funders and consultants saw this as reflective of a history of the organisations as having been small, fragmented

service delivery organisations and that the advocacy work was outside their comfort zone. The organisations during these early stages were involved mainly at the design stage of the Older & Bolder campaign and did not play a very involved role in delivering the campaign.

There was broad support for the types of work that Older & Bolder engaged in at this stage amongst the nonprofit leaders as assessed by an evaluation, which tracked the satisfaction of the field with Older & Bolder. The leaders had been content to outsource the advocacy work to Older & Bolder and did not see themselves as having, nor did they seek to have, a sense of ownership over the advocacy work. This initiative was funded by Atlantic and had been instigated by Atlantic, albeit in consultation with the nonprofit leaders. Despite the fact that they did not closely identify with the work of Older & Bolder, there was a general perception that that the work carried out by Older & Bolder was professional and that it had an impact on policy-making, particularly during the early stages of its work.

“And I think Older and Bolder made quite a substantial impact, made a substantial impact in getting older people on to the general action agenda” (ZF-ROI-C).

This early success of the campaign co-ordinated by the communications consultants led then to a discussion about creating a more permanent capacity within the field. Again, the foundation led this initiative as it wished to strengthen advocacy within the field but did not see another viable alternative to creating a new entity. This perception was shared widely across the nonprofit leaders, the foundations staff and consultants interviewed who contrasted the ageing field with other fields that they were familiar with or had worked in previously, where there was a greater emphasis on policy work. This early perception of successful work was reflected in an evaluation of the work of Older & Bolder which interviewed many of the leaders (Eustace & Clarke, 2013). The incumbent organisations in the field initially were welcoming of the role of Older & Bolder as an organisation and were impressed by the initial work of the organisation in terms of the impact that it continued to have on policy-making vis-à-vis older adults in Ireland.

All of these organisations were represented on the board of governance of Older & Bolder and there was a desire on the part of the foundation for this initiative to be closely linked to the activities of the individual organisations with a hope that the organisations would

increasingly either financially support a shared capacity themselves or adopt certain shared features of the approach into their joint work. This more policy focused work was something the nonprofit leaders recognised as a need but they did not actively engage with Older & Bolder often sending other senior people from their organisations to the board meetings and focusing instead on the services being delivered by their own organisations. Many admitted to having been somewhat disengaged from the work of Older & Bolder.

“I think in hindsight the executive and the secretariat had such a strong role in the campaigning etcetera that one of the unforeseen consequences for member organisations was that they took their responsibilities in relation to managing the organisation not seriously enough and also saw Older and Bolder doing that and therefore we don’t need to do it and we can just get on with something else.” (HK-ROI-NP).

Overtime the rise of Older & Bolder as an organisation was a source of tension with many of the existing organisational leaders. The leaders began to resent the efforts by the executive of Older & Bolder to develop a strategy which they felt they had to fall in with rather than having Older & Bolder facilitate the organisations to achieve their advocacy goals.

“I think one of the early fall outs of that phase that we belonged to was the success of this Older and Bolder was actually going to do the very opposite of what we wanted it to do, which was to swallow up the smaller organisations and become the big combine. I think there was a fear of that.” (KA-ROI-NP).

The organisation began to perceive itself as a legitimate actor in the organisational arena and began to develop a desire to develop its own mission and drive an advocacy agenda for older adults. It also sought to fundraise directly from the foundation and there was a perception amongst the others that it saw its own role in advocating for the interests of older adults as on a par with the missions of the other organisations. The foundation was eager that Older & Bolder should be a resource to the organisational field rather than a competitor.

“In the case of Older and Bolder, we just had great difficulty in having Older and Bolder acknowledge that what they were was, in some sense an umbrella group of these eight ageing organisations, where they wanted to talk about themselves as an entity independent of their membership.” (RO-ROI-F).

“When I think about it I say there must be a reason. Well the reason is that Older and Bolder became a separate institution.” (XQ-ROI-F)

From the perspective of the Older & Bolder executive there was a need to have disciplined, focused campaigns and it had demonstrated an effective track record of achieving results. They asked the Atlantic Philanthropies directly for a further round of support based on this track record. The foundation said that without the support of the other organisations in the

field, which constituted the board of the Older & Bolder Alliance, this funding would not be forthcoming. Amid much recrimination, the Alliance was formally wound up in 2013.

One of the striking things about this conflict was the cognitive dissonance between the different positions. For those who were the executive, they firmly believed that they were entitled, as an organisation to seek funding to advance what was widely believed to be a successful initiative in an area, which framed as an area of weakness in the field, advocacy. For others, they framed the rise of another independent organisation as an expensive luxury, which did not align with the interests of the organisations that constituted its board and a source of competition for funding, influence and profile.

Reflecting back on the experience of Older & Bolder, many of the nonprofit leaders interviewed believed that it had done effective work in its advocacy role but that it needed to have been more effectively controlled by the organisations involved. The interpretations of organisational conflict around the direct fundraising from Atlantic and the increasing desire for an independent strategy resulted in some ambiguity as actors tried to reconcile the conflict over it as an organisation with its effective work as a united voice, something which they recognised was needed.

“So as a brand as they talk about now, Older and Bolder were brilliant...yet the very thing that we’re faced now with is very successful campaigns and projects but a very wounded set of people who are desperately looking to find the voice of older peoples organisations and older people they serve, the voice, in a collaborative and unified way.” (KA-ROI-NP)

As can be seen from the ways in which actors framed the issues surrounding Older & Bolder, during the initial phase of the work, which did not threaten their organisational goals or identities, they were relatively content with, albeit disengaged from. They did not have a sense of ownership over it but they saw its work as valuable. In the later stages, particularly from 2010 to 2013, they saw the increased desire on the part of the executive of Older & Bolder to establish it as a permanent organisation in its own right.

Many of the actors, as is outlined above framed the problem to be addressed and the strategies to address either in abstract principles with little clarity in terms of an action plan or with specific goals which related to their own organisation and services directed at older adults.

Many of the interviewees felt that this focus on older adults without a wider social justice narrative in terms of why people should support was a significant weakness of the field.

“I would fear that the perception of you know just older people looking out for themselves is a dangerous one a very dangerous one at the moment and you would hope that they would be able to get beyond that. “ (RO-ROI-F)

One leader said that she would be sad to see people “shouting for more and not nuancing it” (ER-ROI-NP). One CEO who was relatively new to the field reflected that

I haven’t heard many people come up with radical solutions or suggestions for ways of doing things. I mean they’re much better when they get into doing the things themselves (GB-ROI-NP)

Other actors commented on the lack of progress of establishing a common vision in relation to advocating for the rights and welfare of older adults and claimed that the leaders often looked to others for direction.

“They are beginning to come to the realisation that they have really limited influence, that they have significant sustainability challenges unless they start to rationalise, that they need to decide that they are going to influence this strategy. At the moment they are in this helpless mode.” (XQ-ROI-F).

Another described the progress made in relation to collective action as "pedestrian" (MF-ROI-F). Many of the nonprofit actors themselves expressed frustration on the progress made with one expressing frustration that there was a lack of passion about a shared vision (HK-ROI-NP). Another nonprofit leader expressed sadness and confusion that there had not been more progress made

“I feel kind of negative I suppose...we don’t have enough to show what we’re doing. I suppose if I go on what I would have liked to have seen by now...and I’m not saying that I, I didn’t try to do it.” (ER-ROI-NP).

Whilst some were critical of the lack of “vision” (MH-ROI-C) or “courage” (HZ-ROI-NP) of the leaders, many also referenced the background of the field and the need to understand the lack of resources in the field previously or public interest in the issue of ageing and that many of the leaders had struggled to galvanise a field comprised of small organisations that historically delivered small-scale services.

Overall then we can see from the collective action framing by the nonprofit leaders in relation to the future of the ageing field and the efforts to establish a shared advocacy platform in the organisational field that

- 1) The shared problem to be addressed, or the diagnostic framing focused on countering ageism, promoting the civic engagement of older adults, ensuring the targeting of benefits at older adults. At a collective level these were often expressed more as value statements or principles rather than specific problems to be addressed as such, but there was a recognition of the importance and value of advocacy work. There was also a wish to maintain or enhance the existing organisations structures of the field.
- 2) The main strategies to address these problems, or prognostic framing as described in Chapter 3, related to enhancing the existing organisations within the field to deliver, expand and integrate their programming where this did not threaten significantly their organisations. The main strategies that should be engaged in are to deliver services directly to help vulnerable older adults and to promote civic engagement of all older adults. The organisations should also engage in lobbying collectively to advance the entitlements, benefits and rights of older adults.
- 3) In terms of mobilising actors to implement these strategies, the frames focused on the individual organisations collaborating to deliver existing programming and services. There was a resistance to changing the organisational structures and a counter framing of efforts to establish new organisational structures within the field despite an acknowledgement that there was a need for a different mix of skills and for greater alignment of available resources and advocacy effort.

4.6 The salient institutional logics in the ageing field in the Republic of Ireland

In order to derive institutional logics from these frames, we need to explore the framing around the above efforts to engage in collective action for common patterns of goals, identities and schema and see whether these institutional logics align with other perceptions of the prevalent beliefs and practices in the field historically. This is set out clearly in table 3.3, which illustrates how the main empirical themes are grouped according to goals, strategies and identities to selectively develop up institutional logics from the interpretations and frames of actors. These set of goals, identities and strategies are coded into single overarching logics by exploring which sets goals, strategies and identities tend to be invoked together. These frames can be abstracted into two prevalent institutional logics; a community logic and an organisational logic.

4.6.1 The institutional logic of community

The primary goals articulated in the frames of actors related to providing entitlement and services to older adults and often they framed the needs of older adults as the primary motivating factor for becoming involved in the field. Some of the newer entrants to the field commented on the lack of an overall vision for social change within the field and felt that appealing to the wider public based on feelings of benevolence of older adults was a short-sighted strategy. That said, most of the organisations were primarily concerned with delivering voluntary-type services and the actors did not have a radical vision for social change and had not sought to establish significant coalitions outside of the ageing arena. The goals were a mixture of ones based around incrementally improving the lot of older adults, often through voluntary efforts by older adults themselves, and broader aspirations to challenge ageist attitudes and practices at a national level.

The social identities of many of the actors were as older adults (or there was a strong identification with older adults) although some felt that this was quite a weak social identity. Similarly in terms of action strategies, whilst many interpreted the goal of challenging ageist attitudes as fundamentally important and recognised the need for coherent, robust policy advocacy, they often did not see themselves as doing this type of work, but rather identified more closely with the voluntary efforts of their own organisations rather than advocacy work.

As can be seen from the above framing of the Older & Bolder initiative, the advocacy work was again interpreted as important but many of the leaders were willing to outsource this work to the executive of the Older & Bolder organisation and focus instead on work that was closer to the work based on a more voluntary ethos and providing opportunities for social engagement for older adults or providing outreach services to frail and vulnerable older adults (i.e. the work with which they were more familiar with and identified with). Some of the funders and consultants felt that this was a reflection of the strong history of voluntary work in the field and some of the actors themselves did not see themselves as well positioned to do advocacy work.

The action strategies, which the actors framed, focused mostly on enhancing or building the services which they already offered which focused more on service delivery and voluntary activity. The Older & Bolder initiative highlights that the collective action which did take place amongst the three organisations referred to as the Tri-Party Initiative, focused more on integrating their programmatic activity much of which was focused on delivering services and promoting civic engagement specifically for older adults. As is highlighted in table 3.3 the community institutional logic embedded a set of taken for granted goals, strategies and identities, which related specifically to older adults as a group in need of direct support. Older adults are seen as a vulnerable community in need and deserving of specific supports, the action strategies relate to providing these supports through services and the collective identities relate to older adults as a group and the nonprofit actors as effective providers of these services.

4.6.2 The institutional logic of the organisation

As is highlighted above, many of the actors framed their priority goals in terms of a combination of aspirational goals and more specific goals, which aligned with their own organisations. Many of the actors claimed that this was the primary lens through which the leaders saw the world and that there had been a history of competing for funding. The goal of organisational logic is to grow the scale, profile and influence of the organisation. The associated identities are role identities associated with the formal positions in the organisation and identification with the project and programmes of the organisations beyond their technical value and a social identity with the other staff and volunteers of the organisation. The action schema associated with this logic is one where the needs of the older adults in Ireland are interpreted through the lens of the needs of the organisation to grow and expand its influence.

As we have seen above many of the goals of the actors, particularly those that had actionable strategies to pursue (as opposed to the more aspirational goals) related to expanding the existing programmes of work. Many of the organisations had received substantial private funding over the course of the previous five years from the private foundation which was in the process of withdrawing. There was also a level of anxiety and insecurity over funding and a number of interviewees referenced the perception that they were competing for a shrinking pot of resources.

Alongside the espoused desire to see a social movement for older adults was a strong framing of the need to build incrementally on the work of the individual organisations rather than engage in establishing new structures. Many of the incumbent actors expressed a desire not to see a new structure, post the experience with Older & Bolder and felt strongly that a new structure should not be created.

“What I would do is not set up any new things. Like I wouldn’t set up an Ageing Well Network as a separate legal entity or an Older & Bolder, I wouldn’t set up any new things, but would invest in what’s existing in the sector.” (ER-ROI-NP).

Some of the actors were perceived by others in the field as identifying closely with their roles as CEOs and this was perceived by some as leading to challenges in terms of transitioning to new leadership. A number of actors had received personal recognition for their work in their capacity as leaders of these organisations from social entrepreneur bodies, which was considered by some to be an attractive identity. In summary, the organisational logic’s goals relate to growing the individual organisation and the action strategies and identities also relate to the individual organisation. As such it could be seen as being in tension with efforts to establish collective action across the organisations.

4.7 Actors’ experiences of institutional complexity

As can be seen from the above discussion of the ageing field, the two logics of community and organisation influenced actors simultaneously. Studying the frames of the actors in terms of the first order themes and comparing them with the two logics it can be seen that actors framed problems to be addressed, action strategies and identities which related both to strengthening or protecting the position of their own organisations as well as advancing the interests of older adults as a specific community in need of supports. These were often framed simultaneously by the same nonprofit leaders.

Where the nonprofit actors were working individually to grow and strengthen their own organisations and deliver services effectively to older adults the different goals, identities and logics embedded within the logics were compatible and even reinforcing. The discussion of collective action, which is the subject of this dissertation though, highlights how these logics can be brought into conflict. In these cases of collective action the desire to advance the welfare of older adults is balanced against a potentially competing desire to advance your own

organisation as you work with others. The case of the Tri-Party Initiative highlights how a common shared community logic is balanced against the competing aspects of a taken for granted organisational logic. In that case the organisations worked to integrate their programmes but not beyond the point that threatened their organisational independence. That is, the logics are sources of potentially competing attractions or enchantments for the actors. The influences of the logics are not partitioned into separate groups and the actors adhere to the goals, identities and strategies to differing degrees. Whilst the logics embed constellations of goals, strategies and identities that co-implicate each other, individual actors can be enchanted or influenced by more than one logic at a time.

Whilst the above discussion of collective action illustrates the challenges of establishing collective action across the competing, enchanting influence of institutional logics, the analysis also highlights that actors adherence to logics is a matter of degree and that actors can be the subject of multiple enchantments or attractions based on the different goals, identities and strategies embedded within multiple logics. That is logics do not influence to the exclusion of other logics and in some cases actors can be influenced simultaneously by two logics. The early stages of the Older & Bolder work illustrates where the organisations were actively and tacitly supporting its work. Although they did not strongly identify with the advocacy efforts as something they should become involved in, they did support the goal of increasing the advocacy strength of the ageing field. It was only when these efforts challenged the goals, identities and strategies embedded with the organising logics that they moved to a position of conflict with the executive of Older & Bolder. In the early stages, they were willing to support the Older & Bolder Alliance as it took on staff and became a professional organisation. They were willing to tolerate this ambiguity up to the point where they felt that their own organisational interests were being challenged in terms of control of the advocacy agenda and fundraising. This is an issue, which will be explored and developed to a much greater degree during the cross-case analysis in Chapter 6.

Chapter 5- LGBTI nonprofit field in South Africa: The second research setting

5.1 Introduction

The wider context of social and economic history of South Africa and backgrounds of many nonprofit sector activists in the anti-apartheid struggle provide an important backdrop to the efforts to construct collective action within the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex (LGBTI) field. After the first democratic elections were held in April 1994, there was huge sense of optimism that the country could become a role model of reconciliation, human rights and that the issues of economic inequality would be addressed on the back of the democratic franchise being extended to all citizens (Sparks, 2003). Many of the activists of the anti-apartheid struggle from the United Democratic Front and the student movements continued to be active in civil society and went on to take up positions within the nonprofit sector, including the LGBTI field. Sparks (2003) describes as a “bitter legacy” the inheritance of chronic income inequality and education and criminal justice systems that were highly dysfunctional and an AIDS epidemic starting to take hold.

Despite these challenges, the South African transition to democracy was seen primarily as a “miracle” and engendered optimism that the “rainbow nation” could act as a catalyst for positive reforms in Africa more widely (Sparks, 2003). The new constitution which was ratified by the Constitutional Assembly in May 1996 not only had aspirational statements on social justice and human rights, it also included justiciable socio-economic human rights within the document, one of the few constitutions to contain such rights. The conscious efforts at national reconciliation and the iconic leadership of Nelson Mandela gave rise to a sense that radical, largely peaceful transformation of society was possible.

Despite these significant advances, there has been considerable disillusionment over the years since 1994 with the pace of government efforts to tackle the problems of income inequality and the delivery of social services (Madlingozi, 2007). An OECD study of income distribution and poverty from the fall of apartheid up until 2008 found that income inequality

had increased over this period and that there had been only marginal reductions in poverty (Leibbrandt, Woolard, Finn, & Argent, 2010). According to a study in *The Lancet* the health system is still poorly managed, albeit with more effective political leadership under recent years (Mayosi et al., 2012). There has been a reduction in deaths from HIV/AIDS which is due to the roll out of anti-retroviral drugs since 2005 (Wyk et al., 2013), a move which was instigated by legal challenges to South African government's policy of AIDS denialism using the socio-economic rights enshrined in the constitution (Marcus & Budlander, 2008). There is also a high level of violence and injury which is the second leading cause of death in South Africa and incidents of rape and violence against women in a highly masculinised culture are far higher than in other countries, with 39% of girls under 18 years of age reporting having experienced sexual violence (Seedat, Van Niekerk, Jewkes, Suffla, & Ratele, 2009).

This is the wider macro context within which the LGBTI field operates and the issues of income inequality, gender and race are still prevalent. Disillusionment with the efficacy of the South African state to design and implement reforms in areas of social and economic policy co-exists with a belief, based on the success of the apartheid transition, that radical change is possible.

5.1.1 The history of LGBTI organising in South Africa

The modern LGBTI rights field in South Africa operates in an interesting and often contradictory space. The organisations have campaigned successfully since the fall of apartheid in 1994 for the enshrining of the rights of sexual minorities in the new constitution, the decriminalisation of sodomy and have extended LGBTI rights into the areas of adoption, immigration, inheritance, medical aid and military service through legal advocacy, culminating in the adoption of the Civil Union Bill (i.e. gay marriage) by the South African parliament in 2006. Despite this extension of legal rights and a very progressive constitution, significant challenges remain especially for LGBTI people in terms of their day-to-day lives. Homophobic comments take place within mainstream political discourse. President Jacob Zuma called the gay marriage which the Civil Union Bill enabled “a disgrace to the nation and to God” and homophobic violence is high. According to Human Rights Watch (2009: 3)

“On paper, South Africa has some of the world's most progressive affirmations of human rights for

LGBT people. Its post-apartheid constitution was the world's first expressly to list sexual orientation as a status protected from discrimination. Yet, almost 20- years after the unravelling of authoritarian white rule, many of those protections for human rights remain unimplemented and unenforced.”

The LGBTI organisational field historically under apartheid South Africa comprised of organisations whose members and leaders were mainly middle-class, gay men focused on providing social outlets in different urban areas. The main national organisation the Gay Association of South Africa was criticised for its attempts to remain apolitical during the apartheid era and was perceived by some within the anti-apartheid movement as reactionary (Cock, 2005). Post apartheid, a number of organisations and activists emerged from the anti-apartheid movement, ranging from the United Democratic Front, the politicised labour unions to student activists. An earlier campaign against compulsory conscription into the South Africa Defence Forces had touched on particular issues confronted by LGBTI people. Despite the fact that LGBTI issues were not openly discussed within the anti-apartheid movement, some of the leading activists themselves were LGBTI and the law had been used as part of a legal advocacy struggle. A high profile case of an openly gay activist Simon Nkoli who was tried for treason in 1985 after mass protests in the black townships of the Vaal Triangle region was important to building linkages between the cause of anti-apartheid campaigners and gay rights activists. His assertion that his struggle for political freedom was inextricably linked to his need for freedom in terms of his sexual orientation did much to highlight the potential linkages between the two struggles (Reid, 2005).

In 1991, as the debates and discussion got underway about the possible shape a new South African constitution should take, a law professor, Edwin Cameron (who later went on to be a judge on the Constitutional Court, South Africa’s supreme court) addressed the Gay and Lesbian Organisation of the Witwatersrand and the Society for Homosexuals on Campus. During this presentation, Cameron set out the tenor of the strategy that would be adopted over subsequent years (Reid, 2005). He emphasised that although there was much emotion and idealism in the air, the strategy adopted by the organisations needed to be disciplined and focused

“I would say that we should draft the principles and then select specific targets like uniform age of consent. Select specific targets- that’s how all the effective progressive organisations over the past 30 and 40 years have worked. If you look at the successful organisations, anti-apartheid organisations...you target and issue and you build your campaign around it. The issue must be attainable, it must be morally foolproof, and then you target a campaign around it.”

In 1993 Cameron authored an academic article in the *South African Law Journal* which set out an argument that gays and lesbians were a category in need of specific legal protection because “the unique features of their position render them a category specifically in need of legal safeguarding” (Cameron, 1993: 450). He then made the case that this constitutional protection would result in the basis for

- Decriminalisation of the common law crime of sodomy
- Legislative enforcement of non-discrimination
- Rights of free speech, association and conduct
- Permanent domestic partnerships

The impact of this article on LGBTI organising is described by Judge, Manion, & de Waal (2009) as seminal and it provided what became known as “the shopping list” of legal advances which the activists sought, starting with a campaign to insert rights focused on sexual orientation into the South African constitution. This law reform work became the focus of the collective action across LGBTI organisations. According to Judge et al., (2009:18) the strategies adopted went well beyond legal challenges which

“did not happen in a vacuum...[and involved]...a combination of civil society advocacy and activism, legislative developments and other processes”

In 1994 the National Coalition of Gay and Lesbian Equality (NCGLE) was formed to coordinate a campaign to enshrine sexual minority rights within the new South African constitution (Reid, 2005). It was an umbrella organisation that at one stage had 78 affiliates and was modelled on previous, successful anti-apartheid campaigns. Despite the outward appearance of a broad-based coalition with affiliates, the National Coalition was in reality driven by a small group of activists who co-ordinated what had been previously seen as a “relatively weak and fractious gay and lesbian community” (Reid, 2005: 176).

The leadership of the NCGLE was drawn from the anti-apartheid movement and was led by activists like Zachie Achmat and Phumi Mtetwa who had established reputations in the anti-apartheid struggle. According to Cock (2005: 189) any explanation of the efforts to include sexual orientation within the equality clause of South African constitution involved making gay rights part of the wider social justice project;

“Any explanation of the clause must be rooted in the insurgent climate of South Africa in the early 1990s. A marked cultural effervescence involved a reconfiguration of the discourse on equality.

This converged with the discourse on sexual rights promoted by a powerful women's movement and Western ideals of human rights...the discourse of diversity, the celebration of difference and especially, the right to freedom of sexual orientation were defended as part of the challenge of building a diverse pluralistic society."

The approach that NCGLE adopted was one of lobbying with a reformist tone which "did not represent a substantial threat to prevailing gender relations or patriarchal power" (Cock, 2005: 194). The advocacy efforts were concentrated on the Constitutional Assembly which was drafting the constitution with co-ordinated efforts to ensure that the submission aligned around the themes of equality and non-discrimination. Public opinion was perceived as hostile based on opinion polls which evidenced significant opposition to extending rights to gays and lesbians (Charney, 1995). Even amongst the 78 affiliate organisations there was varying degrees of engagement. The strategy closely managed by a central group which created the impression of strength, drew on the prevalent discourse of human rights and legal protection and focused the debates and discussions within the realm of those drafting the constitution rather than mobilising grassroots activists or attempting to engage in public education.

After the constitution including a clause specifying non-discrimination on the ground of sexual orientation was adopted in 1996, the NCGLE focused their efforts on advancing a series of legal challenges based on the non-discrimination clause to advance the rights of LGBTI people, starting with the decriminalisation of sodomy and progressing on to immigration rights of partners and building towards what the activists considered the "holy grail" of gay marriage.

In 1999 the NCGLE was dissolved as the relationships with the affiliates had become a challenge to manage and Lesbian and Gay Equality Project (LGEP) was set up as a nonprofit organisation to campaign for gay and lesbian rights. There had been some tensions between the NCGLE over resources with some of the affiliates claiming that the NCGLE was attracting funding which should be directed towards the affiliates and the leadership of the NCGLE also did not want the difficulties of managing relationships with all of the affiliates. LGEP was incorporated as an organisation governed by a board with staff, which were answerable to this board. The other organisations collaborated with each other and the LGEP continued promoting the rights set out in Cameron's shopping list. LGEP devoted a significant amount of time to building up and maintaining relationships with other organisations that served LGBTI constituents. These LGBTI organisations varied from

organisations that worked on geographic areas and combined rights agendas with social and health agendas, organisations that primarily worked with gay men on health issues, promoted tolerance amongst religions, gay film festivals or that provided health, legal and social supports to specific groups such as transgender or intersex people.

5.1.2 The support of the Atlantic Philanthropies

Organisations within the LGBTI field received substantial private philanthropic foundation funding to promote the welfare and human rights of sexual minorities over the period 2004 to 2012. The largest private donor over this period was the Atlantic Philanthropies. Smaller amounts were also committed by HIVOS a Dutch international development nonprofit organisation, the Open Society Institute and the Open Society Foundation. A number of US Foundations funded some of the earlier campaigns focused on legal rights but reduced down their support as these campaigns came to a conclusion. The number of organisations with professional staff expanded over the period 2004 to 2011. As the Atlantic Philanthropies' support often included resources to hire full-time directors and rent premises many of the smaller organisations became incorporated as organisations with a separate legal status and boards.

Atlantic had been a significant funder of the legal advocacy work of the LGBTI organisations under an Equality, Rights and Justice programme prior to 2004 and was a significant supporter of the LGEP, which received \$1.6m in total in grants from Atlantic. According to Mark Heywood, a central figure in public interest litigation and advocacy in South Africa

“The very existence of these organizations, their ability to attract great lawyers and take these cases and litigate them up through the courts, is attributable in no small part to Atlantic. But for that [support], all of us would have been smaller, weaker, or nonexistent. There would have been fewer cases and fewer victories.” (quoted in (Proscio, 2012))

Over the period of the strategic review 2002 to 2004 the LGBTI community was selected as a focus area by Atlantic and a strategy was developed which focused on

- A commitment to build black and lesbian leadership;
- A commitment to outreach in townships and rural areas and building membership among poor and black gays and lesbians;

- Advocacy and litigation for full citizenship for the gay and lesbian community;
- The incremental formation of a national umbrella body committed to a common programme of action;
- A challenge to negative stereotypes of gays and lesbians and to the notion that homosexuality is alien to African culture (Internal Atlantic Philanthropies strategy document, 2005)

From 2004 to 2011 grants of over \$14.2 million were committed to support the organisational field with the vast majority of this funding going to twelve organisations who participated in the Joint Working Group (a collaborative structure explained below) and substantial funding going to support the salaries and other core costs of these organisations. For many of these organisations this enabled them to recruit full-time, professional chief executives, as well as other positions. Whilst the philanthropic funding had enabled the hiring of full-time staff, often there were only one or two full-time staff members and many of the organisations relied on voluntary occasional input from board members and others.

5.2 An overview of three cases of efforts to construct collective action amongst LGBTI organisations

5.2.1 The gay marriage campaign

A Joint Working Group was established in 2002 to formalise this collaboration amongst the LGBTI organisations. The campaign for gay marriage was one of the primary efforts to construct collective action and it involved coordinated legal and public mobilisation strategies with the LGBTI organisations providing *amicus curiae*² for the court cases and mobilising attendances at hearings and demonstrations. The LGEP took the lead role in coordinating the campaign and worked on a combined legal, legislative and public education strategy.

The South African Marriage Act of 1961 prohibited same sex marriage. The strategy of building up a series of legal advances and to then challenge this act was making progress, when in 2002 a lesbian couple who had been living together applied to the High Court to have

² The literal translation from Latin is “a friend of the court”. This is a legal argument filed by an individual or an organisation, who is not directly party to a case but because of a strong interest in the outcome of the case, is allowed by the court to make a submission for consideration.

their union recognised as marriage by challenging the common law definition of marriage in what became known as the Fourie case. This move had not been anticipated by the LGBTI organisations but when the case went before the South African Supreme Court of Appeal in August 2004, the LGEP intervened as an amicus curae (Judge et al., 2009). The court ruled that the exclusion of LGBTI people from marriage was discriminatory. The case was then to be heard by the Constitutional Court but the LGBTI organisations took another case simultaneously to challenge the Marriage Act itself. LGEP and eighteen other organisations asked that this case go directly to the Constitutional Court. In December 2005 the Constitutional Court ruled that both the common law definition of marriage and the Marriage Act of 1961 were unconstitutional. The ruling was suspended for twelve months to enable parliament to correct the defects in the law (Judge et al., 2009).

The campaign then focused on parliament and the drafting of the Civil Union Act. Over this period the LGEP suffered internal leadership problems which resulted in the departure of the director. An organisation focused mainly on gay men's health services, OUT Wellbeing stepped into a leading role within the Joint Working Group and helped mobilise its constituents along with those of the other LGBTI organisations to mount public demonstrations. OUT Wellbeing also played a lead role in advocating directly with parliamentarians and organising submissions by the Joint Working Group to the drafting process. A core group of activists worked on these lobbying activities, coordinated with the wider human rights organisations and attempted to recast much of the negative discourse in the media (Vilakazi, 2008). According to Vilakazi (2008: 91)

“The dominant view was that homosexuality was sinful, unnatural, intrinsically abnormal and merely a phase... These views dominated the media coverage of same sex marriage, and the public was flooded with homophobia, hysteria and hatred towards lesbian and gay people.”

Facing opposition from traditional, religious and conservative organisations, the LGBTI organisations orchestrated a campaign which sought to prevent any rowing back from the instruction of the Constitutional Court to ensure non-discrimination in the institution of marriage and to frame this again as a human rights issue rather than an LGBTI issue. The organisations managed to mobilise constituents to participate in the public hearings across much of South Africa and successfully fought draft proposals to establish civil partnerships for gay and lesbian people rather than full civil unions. In November 2006 the Civil Union

Act was passed which accorded the status of marriage to unions between gay and lesbian couples.

5.2.2 Violence against LGBTI people

After this successful campaign for gay marriage in 2006, the Joint Working Group began to discuss what issues the LGBTI organisations should address next. A full-time co-ordinator was recruited by the Joint Working Group to help instigate and facilitate the interactions between the organisations. The range of organisations had a variety of priorities and favoured organising strategies and also a variety of interests in trying to construct interorganisational collective approaches. One issue which gained prominence, both within South Africa and internationally, was the level of homophobic attacks, particularly on black lesbians living in townships. The phenomenon of lesbian women being raped to discourage lesbian behaviour is sometimes referred to controversially as “corrective” rape (Action Aid, 2009). Breen & Nel (2011) argue that hate crimes start with the promulgation of the view that discrimination against LGBTI groups is legitimate. In a speech in 2006, the President Jacob Zuma claimed that

When I was growing up, an ‘ungqingili’ [gays in isiZulu] could not stand in front of me, I would knock him out.”

A report carried out by Nel & Judge (2008) reviewed the available research on the prevalence of violence against LGBTI people in South Africa and reported that

“...black lesbians, particularly in townships, where they are seen to challenge patriarchal gender norms, are increasingly targeted for rape. Of the 46 black women interviewed, 41% had been raped, 9% were survivors of attempted rape, 37% had been assaulted and 17% verbally abused. Most survivors know their perpetrators, who are often a family member, friend or neighbour...Although not a separate and distinct phenomenon from the high incidence of gender-based violence in the country, it has also been reported that highly visibly gay, lesbian or transgender people are more often the targets of homophobic violence.”

On the 7th of July, 2007, two black lesbians Sizakele Sigasa and Salome Masooa were abducted, tortured and murdered and their bodies left in a field outside Soweto. The Joint Working Group initiated a campaign called the Triple Seven Campaign (or 070707) to counter violence against LGBTI people. The campaign took its name from the date on which the women were murdered and used this high profile and well-publicised crime to draw attention to the issue of violence. A number of events and demonstrations took place under the banner of the Triple Seven Campaign. As is outlined below however, the issue of violence

against LGBTI and the appropriate responses that the LGBTI organisations should engage in caused a significant amount of debate within the Joint Working Group members and within the field more widely. The gay pride march in 2012 in Johannesburg was disrupted by activists from the One in Nine feminist collective to demonstrate the incongruity of certain sections of the LGBTI celebrating and partying whilst other, less privileged members of this community were living in threat of violence.

5.2.3 Efforts to develop greater collaboration and integration amongst the LGBTI organisations

The organisations also became more racially diverse over this period. Atlantic and HIVOS had the objective of encouraging more black lesbians into leadership roles. The Joint Working Group, set up to facilitate interaction amongst the organisations quickly expanded in the 2006-2008 timeframe to include leaders of a greater variety of organisations.

Atlantic had signalled its intention to cease committing funding to the South Africa LGBTI field by 2011 and to exit South Africa by 2013 as part of an international decision to commit all of its assets to charitable causes by 2016 and cease operations by 2019. Atlantic convened these meetings to discuss the future for this field of organisations and paid for professional facilitators, conference venues and travel costs. These meetings focused on the immediate issues of funding as well as the future shape of the LGBTI field, what principles should underpin their work going forward and what areas should be prioritised for collective action.

In the following sections, how actors interpreted and framed these efforts to construct collective action are analysed. As outlined in the approach to data analysis in Chapter 3 (and similar to the approach adopted in Chapter 4 to the Irish ageing field) these frames are studied closely and coded into first order empirical themes. These themes are then studied for common patterns along the core tasks of collective action framing (i.e. what is the priority problem to be addressed, how it should be addressed and who should be mobilised to do it). These second order themes were then analysed to see whether they reveal coherent patterns of shared goals, action strategies and collective identities which were grouped into institutional logics as illustrated in table 3.4.

Table 5.1 – Chronology of collective action efforts in the LGBTI field in South Africa

Year	Significant events regarding collective action in the LGBTI field in South Africa
1991	Edwin Cameron proposes a strategy for reform of the laws regarding gay and lesbian people at a talk at Witwatersrand University based on the public interest litigation strategies used by anti-apartheid campaigners
1994	National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality formed by a group of anti-apartheid campaigners to campaign for the “shopping list” of rights set out by Edwin Cameron. It has 78 affiliates but in reality is centrally driven
1996	The Constitutional Assembly adopts the new South African constitution with a specific protection built in prohibiting discrimination based on sexual orientation
1999	The National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality is dissolved and a new organisation the Gay and Lesbian Equality Project is formed, legally incorporated and recruits a small professional staff and continues the work of legal reform
2002	Out-Wellbeing holds a workshop and invites other organisations and out of this meeting the Joint Working Group is formed to facilitate collaboration and information exchange amongst eight organisations working in the field
2003	The Atlantic Philanthropies adopts a programme focused on LGBTI people with a particular emphasis on advancing legal rights, promoting lesbian and black leadership and developing the capacity of the field
2005	The Constitutional Court rules that the Marriage Act of 1961 is unconstitutional
2006	November 2006 the Civil Union Act was passed which accorded the status of marriage to unions between gay and lesbian couples. The Joint Working Group expands its membership to twenty organisations, including smaller community based organisations with more black and lesbian leaders and engages in strategic planning to explore its future direction. The Atlantic Philanthropies encourages this expansion and provides resources to hire a professional secretariat and cover travel costs.
2007	Two lesbians are murdered on the outskirts of Soweto. The Triple Seven Campaign against violence is established in the wake of the murders involving some members of the Joint Working Group.
2008	The Atlantic Philanthropies announces that it will make its last grants to the South African LGBTI organisations in 2011 as part of its international spend-down.
2009	Scenario planning workshop held over two days in Kiviets Kroon to discuss the perceptions of threats and opportunities facing the field and what collective action they might take. Discussions also on the future of the organisational field post Atlantic funding.
2010	Scenario planning workshop held with grantees to discuss the current perceptions of priorities and to explore ways in which organisations might work together.
2011	Final set of exit grants given to organisations by the Atlantic Philanthropies
2012	The Joint Working Group ceases to meet but informal sub-groups continue to collaborate on specific projects

5.3 The framing of the efforts to legalise same-sex marriage

As is outlined above the same-sex marriage campaign followed on from previous efforts within the LGBTI field to advance the legal protections of LGBTI people which in turn drew on organising repertoires of human rights public interest litigation and advocacy that were familiar to the actors from the anti-apartheid struggle.

For some actors, however within the LGBTI field the notion of marriage was problematic. They felt that marriage is a hetero-normative institution which should be challenged as a patriarchal form of oppression rather than extended.

“My involvement in the organisation at that time was to actually stall it and say “no, no, no, we absolutely cannot be going to court over this issue now”. So you know in terms of a strategic issue and where it was placed on our kind of agenda and so on. You know again I think challenging things in court passing laws. I mean we know how to do that. In some ways it’s quite easy work. But actually is quite easy once you have the legal foundation in place and so forth.”(AY-SA-NP)

For most people interviewed this campaign was about the extension of a franchise of a set of rights, which was being denied to a portion of the South African population. The interpretations of the importance of the campaign in the interviews did differ in emphasis between providing material and social benefits to same-sex couples and the more emblematic view of the campaign as about human rights. For some within the Joint Working Group, the issue was less important to their constituents. A transgendered activist recalled that at times people did assert the priorities of their particular constituents and question whether they would support the objective of gay marriage but not in a way that actually threatened the campaign

“if you really knew trans people and trans issues it would have not been a surprise. So I think obviously in those beginning years, obviously from my side as well I pushed, I also provoked (LG-SA-NP).”

Even for those that did not support the prioritisation of marriage they did not oppose the campaign

“We would still say as long as there is an institution of marriage which is available to heterosexual couples then clearly it has to be applied and extended to include. Actually there is quite a low common denominator there.” (AY-SA-NP)

In terms of mobilising and aligning the organisations around a common campaign, a relatively small group of activists worked across the organisations to ensure that the diversity of the LGBTI goals and identities did not inhibit a disciplined campaign. Even when during the campaign, a leading organisation fell into a serious crisis, some of the core group of activists moved to another organisation to continue their work.

“There was...quite a lot of fractures between those organisations that are more interested in mobilising and providing support for middle class white gay lesbians versus more peripheral people. Those organisations that are more feminist orientated versus those that are more liberal in their approach. So I think there have been a lot of political differences amongst the organisations. But having said that I think there have been areas where organisations have come together strategically under a more unified banner. Same sex marriage is one example of that. I think there

was a very broader alliance of organisations, even though they were kicking and screaming at times, did in fact converge around the same sex marriage campaign in quite a meaningful way.” (KC-SA-NP)

In terms of the formalising strategies of collective action the work drew on organising repertoires which were familiar to the activists and a number of the participants highlighted that the legal strategies were familiar to them and quite easy for them to advance (AY-SA-NP) in that there was a common objective, even if some interpreted it in different ways. The collective action framing to politicians, the media and the general public was closely managed by a small, coherent group that also worked to ensure the different identities and views of social change did not come into open conflict. This was helped by the fact that there was a common enemy in the form of the conservative movement, which was actively opposing this Civil Union Act and a high level of public criticism in the media of the Act.

A number of the interviewees referenced the positive identification amongst LGBTI organisations with the success of the Civil Union Act and the fact that whilst, a core group of activists coordinated these efforts, organisational rivalries did not come to the fore and that a range of organisations mobilised people to attend public hearings and were willing to play less prominent roles in the coordinated campaigns.

“Some...groups...also played a key role in the same sex marriage campaign. Other organisations and I include [own organisation] here played very much more a back seat role. You know we lend support, we lend numbers but we don’t actively work to take the campaign forward. We were largely left with [two named organisations] and largely left with a handful of activists. (WZ-SA-NP)”

This was seen as a high point for the Joint Working Group but also that this level of collective action was temporary and the result of conscious efforts to align or reconcile conflicting goals and strategies. It did not have a sustained impact on the interorganisational dynamics.

“I think in that stage when we started after the Civil Union bill that’s where we should have done things differently I think. Because by the nature of how we then started going ahead choosing issues, some organisations would feel ‘it’s not really our issue, our area and we should step back here’.” (JG-SA-NP)

Interviewees believed that the specificity of the legal challenges and the fact that these approaches drew on familiar repertoires and anti-apartheid activist identities enabled the different organisations to cohere around the goals and the strategies. After the shopping list of rights had been achieved there was greater contestation over what activities the field should prioritise in terms of collective action with some perceiving a complacency amongst white,

middle-class activists about the challenges faced by black gays and lesbians in townships in terms of their day-to-day lives

“Yes it was the white middle-class bourgeois gay men that were the intellectuals driving the discourse...And I think it definitely was not a mass movement and in a way one almost had, these discussions were happening. We went straight to policy level. We went straight to what we need in our constitution, what we need in policies without the bottom up approach.” (LM-SA-NP)

There was a perception that the organisations had managed to cohere over the course of the campaign because there was a clear opposition in terms of the conservative religious and traditional leaders but that this had dissipated as the rights had been achieved

“But it’s a crisis of post-apartheid in a democratic South Africa with so many people getting to this comfort zone of we have the rights, we’re ok now. So now we can even get married. I have everything...” (NF-SA-NP)

Another activist highlighted that the successful rights agenda had delivered a better quality of life to middle-class, white LGBTI people but in doing so had reduced the extent to which they saw the need to organise politically around or identify with LGBTI issues.

“The poor Americans don’t have rights. Lucky buggers they have a movement. They’ve got some gay and lesbian mentality. We don’t have that...I want someone to interfere with the constitution. I want them to take away marriage rights...No. So there’s so much complacency here it’s not true. That’s because we were given the gift of the constitution without even working for it.” (LM-SA-NP)

Most though claimed the legal strategies as having been crucially important in advancing the welfare of the LGBTI community. For some this provided the basis for future activism and the basis for more grassroots oriented social movement organising

“When you have (person’s name) and (person’s name) talking back as clever blacks then you’ve got a fucking problem on your hands. You know what I mean. It’s like! I mean that’s the beauty. That’s the beauty of all the laws of course of the jurisprudence you know all that foundational work that there really is a space even though people are trying to squeeze it, that’s citizenry has started to engage with.” (KC-SA-NP)

For others, the progress on the legal rights of the LGBTI had been important but this interorganisational collective action had detracted from their work delivering services to their constituents and there was need to refocus their efforts back to this work. For these actors, the collective action post the advances on laws and legislation should be focused on specific and bounded projects where organisations have a clear, shared interest rather than more ambitious campaigns. They had become frustrated with the debates around the issues which the LGBTI organised field should focus on within the Joint Working Group after the Civil Union Act and

felt that these discussions had become dominated by “empty ideological discourses” (PQ-SA-NP).

5.4 Framing of efforts to collectively combat violence against LGBTI people

After the euphoria of the Civil Union Act victory had subsided, the Joint Working Group held a number of discussions to develop goals and strategies. For many of the activists that had recently joined the Joint Working Group and for some of those that had been there over the course of the campaign there was a desire to shift from a focus on legal reform of LGBTI rights to assessing some of the issues that were of concern primarily to gay and lesbian people living in townships. There were often differing interpretations of the nature of the problems and the types of collective strategies that should be adopted and differences around who should be mobilised to address these issues. One of the issues which provoked fundamental debate was the issue of homophobic violence. As is highlighted above there was a perception amongst some that the legal strategies had benefited a middle-class, mainly white constituency but had not changed the conditions under which the majority black, poor LGBTI lived. In particular homophobic violence was seen as a life and death issue which led to many LGBTI living under threat of physical harm and an urgent issue which needed to be addressed and which was not affected by the legal and legislative changes.

“...The LGBT sector went straight into the policy debates and I think that’s why we had a lot of the backlash around hate crimes and communities not really understanding the human rights of LGBT groups and there hasn’t been sufficient buy in at community level. Because we didn’t do that kind of ground work, the legwork at community level. It wasn’t happening in that kind of period.” (LG-SA-NP)

Although this issue was framed as a matter of life and death by many of the actors in the sector, they were unable to agree on a common interpretation of the problem to be addressed or how it should be addressed. There were many debates within the Joint Working Group but there were sharp divisions on how the issue should be understood and addressed. Those that believed strongly that the root cause of the problem was patriarchy and a wider epidemic of violence in South Africa rejected the frame of LGBTI as vulnerable. For people who framed the problem in this way, “sensationalising” the problem of corrective rape was deeply problematic. Whilst there was a problem of severe violence against LGBTI people, there was a need to address this in a way that did not stigmatise African men and which required addressing the structural inequalities between men and women in South Africa through

building alliances with unions and community-based organisations. They opposed the distributing of pictures of battered lesbians as buying into victimhood and instead emphasised challenging social institutions.

“We don’t use the term corrective rape. The violence needs to be situated in the context it’s in. It’s about misogyny, it’s about patriarchy, it’s about addressing gender inequalities on the ground and it’s not about making it an individual’s issue. You know because it was the same with the government task team they were quite happy to call this a Corrective Rape Task Team because then they could make a big noise, get those individuals perpetrators and show that they’re doing something but it’s not going to address the core route of the issue which is you know.... So that’s our framing and also context. We’re concerned because it begins to vilify certain groups...So it says black men in townships and then it becomes a whole unAfrican thing and culture is not fixed it’s not static. So it’s about, and it’s about dispelling some of those myths which become very difficult to counter. So I think for us in the sector, it’s about finding other partners that have a likewise layer of context around it and that becomes difficult.” (HY-SA-NP)

For others though, the issue of violence against LGBTI people and in particular, black lesbians in townships was an urgent issue which needed to be addressed by a specific focus on particular vulnerable groups within the LGBTI community. Working with the police and having specific hate crimes legislation targeted at the perpetrators by highlighting this vulnerability was the one of the priority strategies

“Other people don’t frame issues along those lines but this is an LGBT issue and we need to focus on the LGBT issues and not be side tracked in to other issues. And so the way people come up with solutions or the way people come up with plans to address issues and this has come up a lot around the issue of hate crimes...that caused quite a bit of tension in terms of how the group responded to that and it’s again for me the theme of insiders and outsiders and whether you as a sector speaking and trying to align with the women’s movement or with other movements or whether you’re trying to be a very separate movement with specific issues.” (LG-SA-NP)

In eyes of many of the activists this issue was more challenging to collectively organise around this issue as they lacked a common point of reference. Quite the opposite, despite recognising the critical and life threatening nature of the problem they were divided rather than united by their very different interpretations of the problem and potential solutions. For some this was not a specific LGBTI issue but rather related to the prevalent schism within South African society and needed to be interpreted and addressed as such

“One can see that quite clearly and I think what was quite interesting for me when we were having the hate crime discussion around hate crimes against lesbian women and the debate around that rape is endemic in South Africa and we have the highest rates of rape in the world and are we asking for, should there be a heavier sentence when a lesbian woman is raped because we don’t want to align with other women. Are we saying the rape of a black woman is not as important and a gang rape of a black woman who is not lesbian shouldn’t be getting as severe a sentence? And what are we doing to the women’s rights movement when we start separating ourselves and saying a lesbian woman that’s raped should have this kind of sentence versus a black woman that’s raped.” (NF-SA-NP)

As is outlined above the collective action that was organised was by the Triple Seven campaign. This campaign was primarily organised by feminists and lesbians who sought to instigate a social movement around the issue. The approach to homophobic violence was highly controversial within the Joint Working Group which led to a segment of the organisations within this grouping forming this campaign and others not engaging with it

“I think that was a real sticking point and which I suppose speaks to the politics of the different organisations where there would be organisations that from a feminist perspective would very much want the way in which the advocacy takes place to focus on the most marginal which they would have argued are black lesbians. Others who felt uncomfortable with that, and wanted to recognise that although black lesbians are disproportionately susceptible to violence it’s in a sense a shared experience amongst LGBT. There was a lot of tensions around how do we talk about violence in ways that recognise its social political location and I don’t think it was ever resolved...It’s just very interesting. The battle is being waged internally.” (KC-SA-NP)

Most of the actors expressed regret as to the fact that they had not been able to organise a collective response. Whilst some on either side of the debate expressed clear cut views and framed this issue in stark terms, others claimed that on reflection they could see legitimacy in the different points of view but did not see the prospect of agreement amongst the Joint Working Group and that they had reverted to other priorities, often their own specific organisation’s goals as a result.

5.5 The framing of future of the LGBTI field

The actors within the LGBTI organisations had a range of views on the priority issues, which the organisation field should be focusing on going forward. For some actors, primarily involved in service delivery to men with HIV/AIDS or providing outreach work for LGBTI communities there was a view that the organisations should be focusing on the issues which were of particular concern to LGBTI organisations such as HIV prevention and treatment and hate crimes. There were compelling vulnerabilities amongst LGBTI people which required special attention in terms of state services, legal reform and direct provision by the NGOs of services. These issues were social isolation and promoting understanding, health issues relating to men having sex with men and HIV/AIDS or vulnerability to homophobic violence.

In terms of framing the prognosis of “what should be done” for those that framed health issues as the most pressing, they focused primarily on improving the delivery of services to LGBTI people at risk. There was a need to augment existing services and to expand the

coverage of existing awareness, prevention and treatment campaigns. For those that focused on raising awareness of LGBTI issues, these sometimes related to a specific identity group with the wider LGBTI community (e.g. intersex or transgender) or wider awareness building within religious communities or more broadly focused awareness raising based around LGBTI film festivals. For these actors, the prognostic framing focused more on outreach work and enabling LGBTI people to feel a sense of community and pride about their sexual identity. For those that saw homophobic violence as a priority issue there was a need to ensure that there were specific legal protections (e.g. hate crime legislation) provided for LGBTI people and that these were enforced by the police.

Others felt that failure to analyse the root causes of problems led to superficial solutions which favoured an elite. This led in the past to a prioritisation of problems such as the need to decriminalise sodomy or gay marriage whereas some felt the real issues which LGBTI actors needed to address were much more fundamental than legislation changes.

"I think that there isn't very much space to have intellectual and political discussions around how we see the problem. I think that one of the things that happens very often is that those spaces are either happening at individual organisational level or they're happening where there's only a sort of very elite group of people then come together. I think they're informal spaces not even kind of formal documented spaces which then can inform discourse and thinking and so on and strategy. So I think that is one of the issues. I think very often there's a sort of glossing over...so people will say things like that the need is so overwhelming right now. There's a crises we don't have the time to go into what problem analysis is. We need to be reacting and responding. And so it's almost as if those kinds of discussions are seen to be like a luxury." (AY-SA-NP)

The attempts by some actors to engage the field in dialogues to analyse the root causes of injustices provoked a negative reaction from others who saw these efforts as self-indulgent and pointlessly ideological. As an external evaluation of the work of the organisations which interviewed the main actors over time stated

"But in emphasising the importance of black lesbian leadership, aided by white sisters, this grouping became almost a block which used patriarchy as a bludgeon which may well have caused white, male gays to withdraw, not out of disagreement but out of a sense of the futility of being constantly flogged for their opposition to something with which they agreed." (Evaluation-SA)

Another organisational director who claimed that as a result of efforts to diversify the leadership of the organisations from white males to include more black lesbians led to ideological dialogues that never reached a conclusion. The diversity which for other actors, was emblematic of how wider society should be, was the source of a lack of functional clarity about what issues the field should be collectively addressing

"It was always a complexifying of things. It's not just "take this cup and put it there". It's always "Who are you to need to say the cup?" and "what is the ideological position of the cup" and why...I don't know." (PQ-SA-NP)

For another actor, the tendency to see the existing social institutions as in need of radical transformation stymied the possibility of working to reform aspects of state provision

"So I don't like these sort of discourses oh there's nothing to be done, they're going to repress us and we need to revolt. I don't know that's just my belief. I believe one needs to be realistic about the state. I think there is greater and smaller pockets of good intention and there's very little skills and capacity but I think one needs to be ingrained in what happens and see what can be done within that context." (GZ-SA-NP)

For the actors who advanced collective action frames to incrementally improve services to LGBTI people, the LGBTI organisations should be mobilised to collaborate on specific projects where interests overlap rather than seek to build a common political analysis and wider social justice alliances.

In terms of "who" should be mobilised to address these issues of need or vulnerability within the LGBTI community, the community itself was identified as a key constituency in terms of providing services and the organisational field was seen as a key "delivery agent", particularly in terms of raising awareness, providing a social outlet for LGBTI people and providing "functional" services where the state was unwilling or incapable. Working with the institutions of the state though was seen as key in the areas of provision of health services and homophobic violence. In the health area the phrase "mainstreaming" was used to denote the goal of absorption of services currently provided by LGBTI organisations into mainstream state provision. In the area of hate crimes, working with the police to make them aware of the particular issues of violence and to pressure them to provide protection was seen as key. In terms of those who saw the LGBTI community as vulnerable and/or in need of community specific services the state was seen as a potential powerful vehicle for driving the change needed, albeit one that was in need of reform. There was a need to work with the state where possible to ensure services were delivered as effectively as possible, functionally collaborate with other organisations on areas where goals overlapped in terms of service provision and act with speed and efficiency to address these needs. The successes of the LGBTI organisations of inserting specific protections in the constitution and reforming the legislation relevant to the lives of LGBTI people was evidence of what effective, strong organisations could achieve with specific goals and clear strategies.

Others eschewed this frame of the LGBTI community as vulnerable and in need and rather prioritised wider injustices within society as the "root causes" which manifested themselves in particular ways within the LGBTI community. The problems lay not in reconfiguring state services or providing protection from hate crimes but in the underlying ways in which hetero-normative beliefs governed what was acceptable in terms of sexual behaviour, patriarchy and racial discrimination had relegated black lesbians to third class citizens and violence had become endemic in South African society. For these actors, there was need for a radical shift in terms of these social institutions and the priority should be to address these perceived fundamental injustices. The LGBTI community was not the primary locus of the injustices, although they did manifest the symptoms of the problems found in wider society and the social schisms of race, class and gender were also present in the LGBTI organisational field and needed to be confronted as a priority. The LGBTI community was more enmeshed within wider social institutions that created injustices and which need to be challenged and changed. There was a need to ensure that progress on these fronts did not lead to complacency. They recognised the importance of the legal advances and often had campaigned for them but saw these as inadequate of themselves and also more beneficial to white middle-class gays and lesbians.

"You know they were very, they were clearly around, so the kind of Edwin Cameron famous shopping or laundry list of what laws needed to be changed. If you look at those, you know many of those laws that needed to be changed in fact only criminalised or affected the more elite class. So if you take the sodomy laws it was only men that were being prosecuted for that. That's not to say that it doesn't have an impact broadly on criminalising, kind of moral criminalising of queer people generally but it was men who were mostly being prosecuted, kind of mostly around that. The kind of rights to bring your same sex partner from abroad at that time...it was just kind of the social elite who were being affected by the inability to do that you know and so on...right?" (AY-SA-NP)

In terms of the framing of what should be done or the prognostic framing there was a need to engage in a much more in-depth analysis and discussion of the root causes. The first step for these actors was the need for analyses of the root causes of the injustices in South Africa. This approach involves efforts to politically educate LGBTI people about the causes of the injustices they face and mobilise them into political activity to challenge the social institutions of patriarchy, poverty and race. The path forward in terms of their framing was less clear cut and required a discussion of power distributions and an engagement with grassroots members.

"So there's also like strong lesbians in particular that are organising in the farm-workers unions. I mean I think about the social justice coalition. I think about various movements that are not as identity based as LGBTI...So it's actually trying to see about what are the critical issues facing

South Africa today. And it's not to say homophobia is not like a critical issue. But it's saying how do we study and understand the homophobic violence that is taking place. If then we see ourselves as part of the social and economic crises that is present in South Africa. ..." (NF-SA-NP)

The actors that didn't see the LGBTI as part of wider social justice struggle were failing to locate the LGBTI cause within wider struggles that could deliver real change.

"You see, I think in civil society more generally I think that you know, I think that maybe there is something about the maturity of organising where I don't think, you know there has to be a common recognition that this kind of contestation is actually part of democratic practice. That's how you build a democracy. You have ten queer organisations arguing around a table but come into that table to argue because they realise if there isn't a way of having that conversation then how on earth are we going to deal with the contestations in broader society...And I don't think that we come from a place historically where we necessarily recognise that as important. And we have to find a way to cleave together around these broad principles whether it's human rights, human dignity. And we have to find a way of building meaning around those principles because they're empty in a sense signifies in a theoretical term...It's also about how we operate as players, as actors. I don't think there is an appreciation sufficiently of that." (KC-SA-NP)

In terms of mobilising actors to debate and address these underlying issues, the first step involved engaging in political debate and education within the LGBTI community and then building linkages with other ideologically aligned social movements. This required building alliances with anti-poverty social movements, the women's movement and labour unions. The mobilisation image was one of a mass protest movement, often drawing analogies with the anti-apartheid movement.

In terms of the organisational structures of the field there were differing views on the role of established organisations. As is described above, over the period 2004 to 2012 there was a significant growth in the number of full-time staff working in the field. For some this was perceived as organisations needing to draw in and retain good staff for effective service provision and lobbying. For others it raised a troubling question of sustainability, given the time-limited nature of some of the philanthropic funding that was used to support these salaries. Also the establishment of boards, the incorporations of organisations and the payment of significant salaries to some directors changed the way in which they thought about collective organising. The increase in the operating costs of the organisations also led to an increased competitive dynamic between the organisations as this funding was withdrawn.

Within this context actors proposed a number of ideal visions for the organisational field. Those that promote a radical social change vision tended to promote a vision of organisations more closely tied to grassroots members and where these LGBTI members were advocating

on a range of issues and struggles. Some of these actors tried to prototype the type of the practices they would like to see in wider society within their organisations by creating for example feminist co-operatives. There was also a certain excitement around the growth of small community based organisations at the same time as the larger professional organisations were diminishing due to recent funding withdrawals.

In the organisations that were more concerned with service delivery and the issues specific to the LGBTI community there were more functionalist conceptions of what organisations should do and a desire for greater direction and co-ordination amongst the groups with some advocating a central organisation, with smaller organisations to represent the interests of the specific groups within the LGBTI community. There was a greater emphasis on have having effective boards governing the organisations and they also tended to raise issues such as the need for evaluation and to hold organisations to account for value for money issues and many were critical of what they saw as poor governance and management of organisations by activists who were perceived as lacking management skills.

Despite these differences in these ideal frames of what the organisational structure should look like, there were many commonalities, between those who prioritised the specific needs of the LGBTI community and those that advocated the social justice frame in terms of the organisational structures they employed and what they felt as necessary to achieve progress. All of the organisations studied had incorporated themselves, most had hired directors and had boards. There was a general recognition amongst those that advocated a social justice frame that there were tensions between their espoused values and their organisational practices with many recognising the need to have organisational structures not just to receive funding but also to be able to organise activities. The organisations were seen as influencing how they thought about collective action in the sense that the organisation had their own dynamics and many believed that the desire to sustain their organisations inhibited collective action and led to competitive dynamics between the organisations. From a framing perspective, this dynamic was seen by most of those interviewed as promoting the need to raise funds for organisational survival as a priority issue and in terms of prognostic framing, this led to organisational competition for profile and access to funding and a fragmented approach to collective action. Many spoke of the perceived tension between collective action

and organisational survival and how the formalisation of organisations had created a dynamic of its own. One described the impact of the withdrawal of funding which had been used to support the professionalisation of organisations on how he perceived collective action

“It left a lot of organisations having to run around and get funds. So when you’re pushed into having to raise funds all the time you kind of are detached from what you’re really supposed to be doing in terms of the work. So that I’ve noticed amongst a lot of the LGBT organisations. And it was only time that was going to tell who is going to go first...trying to find a place that is cheaper, taking cuts in the salaries....So I mean that’s one of the huge changes that I’ve seen. In terms of the actual work I’ve also seen that organisations have worked independently from one another as if what they are doing, and that includes myself, is the most important thing.” (GZ-SA-NP)

The influence of professionalisation went beyond resource dependency to actually reshaping how they interpreted and framed their goals and strategies. This often started with a functional desire to increase resources but the structures and roles inherent in the corporate form, which they adopted had an enchanting influence on actors over time.

“For the first six years of our existence we were not a legally structured organisation and we did that for very particular feminist political reasons. And then last year in September we finally registered because we had all these law suits that were continuously being threatened against us and we didn’t want our host organisation to end up in court because of what we were doing. So were kind of forced into the position. But I can really see what the impact of that can do potentially as you have to start to conform to the statutory requirements and the donor obligations and you do start shifting in terms of how you organise yourself and who you see yourself accountable to.” (AY-SA-NP)

Overall then from exploring across the collective action framing of the gay marriage campaign, the Triple Seven Campaign (i.e. the issue of violence against LGBTI people) and discussion and debates about the future of the LGBTI organisational field, certain common empirical themes emerge from the coding analysis of actors’ interpretations and frames. These are set out below in table 3.4. These themes are grouped by the main tasks of collective action framing.

- 1) In terms of diagnostic framing (i.e. what is the problem which should be prioritised) the actors differed in terms of how they perceived and interpreted the key issues which the organisational field should address. For some actors as we have seen above the LGBTI community is a vulnerable community which required protection and assistance because of its vulnerability to attack, health issues such as HIV and discrimination. Addressing these vulnerabilities and advancing the rights of the specific group should be the focus of their efforts. For others, the LGBTI organisations were part of wider South African society, which they saw as deeply flawed and in need of transformation. The root causes of the problems which the

LGBTI community faced were located in social institutions which needed to be changed. Alongside these competing problems, was the promotion of the LGBTI organisations themselves. Some felt that these organisations had an emblematic value of progress beyond the functions, which they delivered and that there was a need to strengthen these organisations. Others felt that the promotion of the organisations as an end in themselves did take place but felt that was a result of actors seeking to advance their own profiles and positions.

- 2) In terms of the prognostic framing (i.e. what needs to be done), again different action strategies were framed in conjunction with the different problems. For those who saw the LGBTI as vulnerable, they often felt that specific services of protections needed to be given to the LGBTI community. For those who believed that social institutions needed to be transformed, they argued that the LGBTI organisations should be participating in wider social movement struggles and aligning themselves with unions, the women's movement and broader social change efforts. For those that believed that organisational growth and strengthening was a key problem that the field needed to address they felt that organisational competition was always present. Whilst actors did not advocate for increased competition, it was seen as inevitable given the need to pay salaries and maintain the activities of the organisation.
- 3) In terms of the collective mobilisation strategies advanced, those that focused on LGBTI specific issues often appealed to the need to mobilise LGBTI organisations to deliver services directly. Collaboration was seen as a sensible strategy when programmes overlapped but there was a need to be realistic and focus on those issues that could be successfully addressed. In terms of those who wished to transform the social institutions in South Africa, they tended to appeal to identities of social activists often referencing the anti-apartheid struggle. There was a need to engage in political education of LGBTI constituencies to help others understand the root causes of injustice in South Africa. For those that talked about the need to advance LGBTI organisations as ends in themselves, they often referenced the need for a professional approach and the capacities of organisations to deliver real change.

In the next section institutional logics are derived from these collective action frames and then the impact of these logics on the construction of collective action is discussed.

5.6 Deriving the salient institutional logics

The above collective action frames highlight the different interpretations of actors of the collective priorities of the LGBTI field in South Africa. In the field of LGBTI organisations in South Africa, there was agreement that there were common struggles which people faced because of their sexual orientation but there were differences between those organisational leaders that were primarily focused on providing HIV related health services to gay men and those fields that sought to challenge the class and patriarchy structures of wider South African society. These differences were accentuated by a perception that the LGBTI field had been dominated by white men and the cleavages of race that had been inherited from South Africa’s past led to on-going discrimination within the field. From the perspective of some people who were primarily interested in providing services they saw these debates as inefficient and destructive wastes of time and resources and defined in part their identities as effective service delivery agents, often contrasted with those who they saw as motivated by ego and power. The actors tended to identify primarily with the specific identities or causes within the LGBTI community rather than with a broader social cause. Nearly all of the activists interviewed in the sector had some history of organising in the anti-apartheid struggle and this was referenced, unprompted by nearly all interviewees. Analogies were frequently drawn to the transformations which had taken place during the fall of apartheid and the unifying factors involved in this struggle. The identities within the LGBTI field also referenced their struggles for recognition (e.g. transgender and intersex) and conscious efforts had been engaged in to boost the profile of black lesbian women who were seen by some as underrepresented.

For some of the actors having a strong group of organisations that could promote the interests of the LGBTI community and react to events was central to their vision for the field. For others, particularly those influenced by more social change logics, there was a dialectic relationship with the organisational logic. In some cases there was a recognition that due to social pressure there was a need for example to incorporate movements to protect against personal liability and the hierarchical trapping (e.g. formation of a board) were seen as having

a subtle but profound influence on how members thought about organising. Many others thought that the social change logics with its heroic narratives and identification with activism mitigated against what they perceived as good governance and effective processes. Many of those interviewed felt that weak boards and mediocre senior management teams had been hired to enable stalwarts of the anti-apartheid movement to dominate organisations based on their reputations and that this had created highly effective campaigns on specific issues but not a strong organisational infrastructure. There were many references made to organisations that had been led by people who were well-respected activists but poor organisational leaders.

Chapter 3 sets out the methods used for deriving these logics based on analyses of the interpretations and frames of actors within the field. Table 3.4 sets out the main empirical themes and illustrates how these were grouped into the following institutional logics by gradually abstracting from the frames of individual actors.

5.6.1 The institutional logic of community

This logic centres around the promotion of the welfare and interests of a specific group of people that are either deemed victims of injustice and/or worthy of particular services or treatment. The betterment of the community group is itself seen as a legitimate objective and they seek to institutionalise the worthiness of this group in the eyes of the wider population to either extend a franchise which has been denied to them or to lobby for an additional service.

This is not a logic which sets out to challenge the status quo in terms of the wider institutionalised structures but rather seeks the extension of these to the group in question or a re-allocation within the existing economic and social structures. The source of identity from this logic is specifically group related and the level of ambition is one of incremental change. This logic constitutes the groups as either deserving of equal or special treatment. The authority of the organisation is based on the extent to which they are seen as the legitimate voice for the group and not necessarily on democratic processes of selection.

5.6.2 The institutional logic of social change

Whereas the above logic of community is one of incremental change for a specific group, this is a logic of radical social change based on an alternative social vision. There is a strong identification with the role of the activist to struggle for transformative social change.

There is a need to question and re-order fundamental aspects of society such as private property (e.g. capitalism) and the family (e.g. patriarchy) and to politically educate the LGBTI constituency so that they can see themselves as agents of social change. This is an institutional logic which seeks to transform society. Authority is based on the ability to interpret the canons of the ideology and identity is an activist one based around association with heroic past struggles and high profile efforts to transform society and to challenge existing institutions. The mission is one of radical transformation but similar in a way to religious institutional logics in that the struggle is seen as more important than the realism or proximity of the objectives. Individual groups are not selected for special treatment, rather common standards such as human rights are used to highlight injustices and the potential for developing alliances and social justice movements which transcend organisational and community boundaries. These principles are seen as the normative building blocks for reforming society.

5.6.3 The institutional logic of the organisation

The legitimacy of the actors as a group is based on the organisations efficiency in delivering services or representing the interests or values of constituents, better than they could in an informal organisational setting. The system of governance is based on the board of the organisation and the hierarchy of the staff. The organisation is incorporated as a separate legal personality, which gives legitimate limited legal protection in terms of the activities of its members. The strategy of the organisation is based on capacity and efficiency to deliver and the mission is to grow the organisation in terms of material resources and perceived legitimacy and maximise its service. The actors compete with other organisations in terms of funding and establishing the profile of the organisation. The identity of the organisation is often closely associated with the leaders, especially the founder and this role identity is socially affirmed by those that support the work of the organisation. The organisation itself not only becomes infused with a value beyond its technical purpose, it also develops a

symbolic presence, which is reflective of the status of the leader and the perceived social value of the activities of the organisation. That is, it not only becomes infused with value it also infuses value by reflecting the perceived social worth of its staff.

In the following section, the first order themes as articulated by actors are compared and contrasted with the institutional logics to see whether, in individual actors interpretations are representative of these logics or whether a more fragmented picture emerges. Similar to the Irish ageing field, this analysis is conducted by exploring the coherence of the logics to whether they influence actors simultaneously or whether the influence of the logics is partitioned between groups of actors.

5.7 Actors' experiences of institutional complexity

Whilst at one level of abstraction, the three logics of “community”, “social change” and “organisation” provide a coherent explanation of why actors engaged in collective action and on other occasions they engaged in conflictual disputes over interpretations and competitive behaviour, there is also a “messier” story at a more grounded level of analysis. Whilst there were actors within the field that were more closely influenced by, and identified with, community, social change and organisational logics, this tended to be matters of degree rather than absolute partitions between actors. The actors were not segmented in groups into these different logics but rather had multiple goals and sources of identification.

What is striking in some of the frames is the extent to which individuals were torn between not just competing demands but also the ways in which they referenced being attracted to some of the goals and identities in opposing logics. This sometimes started off with people being compelled or needing to comply with an institutional demand (for funding or legal reasons) but then the goals and identities within this new logic enchanting them over time.

“So you when you have a board in place, that board does become the governance structure that does determine policy and agenda of the organisation, even if you do say we’re going to have consultative meetings and we’re going to have our annual general meeting and in those spaces we’re going to discuss our political strategies and so forth at the end of the day it is the board because of the way organisations are structured that do determine policy and so on. So I think it does....Even if you’re very deliberate and conscious about having the structures only for the purposes of compliance with various statutory bodies and to access donor funding I think the changes start happening and I think they’re almost unavoidable given those structures.” (AY-SA-

NP)

This nuanced picture of multiple sources of identification and goals was often simply understood as a clash based on community focused or more ideological social change activists, whereas for one actor it was far more complex than that.

“I do think that’s an easy explanation and that’s an explanation that we tend to settle for. It fits the narrative that scholars often want to tell about divisions within the LGBT sector and the danger is that it hides some of the other divisions that we need to grapple with in order to be more successful in the future.” (WZ-SA-NP)

The community and social change logics were not partitioned strictly between actors although there was a tendency to locate primarily in one logic as actors articulated their field frames. That said, at this more grounded level of analysis a more nuanced picture emerges. When one explores the middle ground between the community and social change logics there is also some interesting “space” where these logics are not viewed by some actors as necessarily conflictual and the goals which they espouse and the collective identities they claim are more situational.

Whilst there are obvious schisms between the actors based on constellations of different identities, schema and goals these are not hermetically partitioned into different groups of actors. One actor who was closely identified with the social change logic spoke about the need to focus on organisational efficiency and not to assume that organisations are efficient just because anti-apartheid stalwarts lead them.

“I think there’s an interesting dynamic in civic society more broadly but also in the LGBTI sector and that’s the issue of legitimacy. Who’s perceived to be a legitimate activist and who’s not. And part of that discourse on legitimacy is linked to anti-apartheid struggles, in other words whether the organisation or its historical leadership were involved in anti-apartheid struggle or aligned or whatever and if not you know, I think... So I think there has been a dynamic around legitimacy which have shaped much of the cleavages. So you have an organisation like (an identified LGBTI organisation) who held the moral ground for a very long period of time even though quite frankly it wasn’t producing a thing. Really! It was effectively moribund with a leadership that was hugely problematic but kept a historical legacy of it because it emerged from the anti-apartheid movement but in a sense just kept it going.” (KC-SA-NP)

Some others who were more closely associated with providing services to specific communities also had analyses of the underpinning social institutions in South Africa that partially aligned with more the critical interpretations of the social change logic, highlighting patriarchy and class as the root causes of many of the challenges which LGBTI people face

and identifying themselves as social activists, albeit with less ambitious objectives for reforming these social institutions.

Some actors described having learned from the opposing points of view within collective meetings whilst others dismissed these meetings as of little value due to differences between social change and community focused actors and organisational rivalries. For many, it depended how the point was framed and to what extent the person making the point was seeking to construct a common space or seeking to advance their own goals and identities in opposition to others. One social change activist for example described positively the emergence of a new social movement type of organising consistent with a social change logics but also described the need for large community focused organisations to deliver programmes given the dysfunction of the state services (AY-SA-NP). Another social change activist who described being very encouraged by the emergence of community-based organisations described the need to have formal, effective organisations with financial resources to deliver programmes but that over the period studied too much funding had gone to organisations which had resulted in organisations getting “lazy” (KC-SA-NP). We can see therefore that the goals and practices which these activists frame are not exclusively from the logics which most closely influence them. Some of the actors also acknowledged that there were tensions and paradoxes between the competing goals and strategies that they framed.

This highlights that although the collective identities, action schema and goals of the actors were culturally embedded they were not strictly partitioned by the institutional logics. There was a tendency for these identities, schema and goals to cluster around the logics in constellations even at this more grounded level, but there was also a level of incoherence and fragmentation.

5.8 Reflections on the institutional logics derived in Ireland and South Africa

The literature on institutional complexity is a domain which despite its importance is still, according to Greenwood et al. (2011: 322) neglected and many existing studies limit their exploration of complexity to “an acknowledgment that organizational actions are influenced by the potentially conflicting interactions between logics”. As was illustrated in Chapter 2,

despite the fact that one of the key contributions of Friedland & Alford's (1991) seminal chapter on institutional logics was to highlight the role of potential contradictory, enduring institutional orders, much of the early empirical institutional work focused on exploring the rise and demise of single institutional logics. The findings in both fields studied in this dissertation show that multiple, enduring logics can exist and persist in fields aligned with some of the more recent research carried out into institutional complexity (e.g. Dunn & Jones, 2010; Goodrick & Reay, 2011; Reay & Hinings, 2005, 2009). This contributes to our understanding of how multiple institutional logics can be the sources of division and ambiguity in fields, as well as coherence amongst groups of actors.

The actual institutional logic derived, (i.e. the community and organisational logics in the ageing field in Ireland the community, the social change and organisational logics in South Africa) bear resemblances to some of the institutional orders postulated by Thornton et al. (2012). The community logic is similar to that advanced by Thornton et al. and highlights how communities are socially constructed and can constitute the interests of organisational actors as described by Marquis, Lounsbury, & Greenwood (2011), although the two communities featured are very different. The organisational logic also bears similarities to the corporate logic described by Thornton et al. (2012). It also highlights the international rationalising influence that formal organising structures have on how actors approach organising as described by Driori, Meyer, & Hwang (2009). The social change logic does not correspond directly to a single institutional order and highlights that in more inductive analyses the derived logics will depend on the specific social and historical context of the cases. The focus of this study is not to contribute to the literature on institutional orders per se, but rather to highlight how these multiple logics influence actors as they attempt to construct collective action using more inductive approaches as recommended by Zilber (2013).

The analysis of the fields in South Africa and in Ireland highlights that at a certain level of abstraction, institutional logics can be conceptualised as coherent patterns of shared goals, collective identities and action strategies. Similar to the concept of institutional logics developed by Friedland & Alford (1991) and Thornton et al. (2012) these logics are shaped by social and historical influences. The logics, whilst aligning broadly with some of the

institutional orders as set out by Thornton et al. (2012), affirm that institutional logics are historically and socially contingent as argued by Schneiberg (2007) and is demonstrated in many previous studies (e.g. Dunn & Jones, 2010; Haveman & Rao, 1997; Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007). Overall, the approach of deriving institutional logics primarily inductively from the interpretations and frames of actors in the field and coupled with research on the historical backgrounds and social contexts of the fields, illustrates how abstracted concepts of logics at a field level are derived inductively and more nuanced, detailed analysis of individual actors interpretations and frames can provide insights into how institutional complexity influences interactions. This research responds to the calls by Schneiberg & Clemens, (2006) for greater study of the incoherence of institutions within fields and the recommendation of Schneiberg & Lounsbury (2008) to use approaches drawn from social movement theory (such as collective action framing) to study the multiple, contested and fragmented aspects of these interactions within these fields.

Chapter 6 – Cross-case analysis of the influence of institutional complexity on efforts to construct collective action

6.1 Introduction

In Chapters 4 and 5 the salient institutional logics were derived for the two research settings of the ageing field in Ireland and the LGBTI field in South Africa. This chapter provides a cross-case analysis of five efforts to construct collective action in these two settings. Common empirical themes are developed from this cross-case analysis of these efforts and constructed into a process model to theorise more generally about how institutionally complex settings influence interactions to construct collective action. The key findings from this analysis are set out and grouped in the following sections and discussed in the context of the literature reviewed in Chapter 2;

- 1) How institutional complexity is experienced by individuals
- 2) The influence of institutional complexity on the construction of collective action
- 3) The influence of philanthropic foundations on the construction of collective actions in nonprofit fields

In the Irish and South African fields there were cases of five efforts to construct collective action which were prominent in the interviews and documentation analysed, and which are described in depth in Chapters 4 and 5. In the Irish field, two cases were selected; the creation, operation and winding up of the Older & Bolder organisation and the planning efforts instigated by the Atlantic Philanthropies intended to construct a more integrated organisational field. In South Africa three cases of efforts to construct collective action were selected; the gay marriage campaign, the effort to construct a collective response to the issue of violence against LGBTI people and the field planning efforts instigated by the Atlantic Philanthropies to construct a more integrated organisational field. The key empirical themes that emerged from the analysis across these processes are axially grouped into core theoretical themes and then constructed into a process model to illustrate how institutionally complex contexts influence efforts to construct collective action. The data analysis steps are described in Chapter 3.

Given that each of these incidents is described in some detail in Chapters 4 and 5, the focus here will be on highlighting the core conceptual themes which emerged from the analysis and outlining and explaining the theoretical model.

6.2 The context of institutional complexity

The following conceptual themes were derived from analysing how the actors recollected the early stages of the efforts to construct collective action and studying documentation such as meeting minutes and evaluations of the collective efforts as outlined in Chapter 3. Table 3.5 highlights how the core conceptual themes were derived inductively from specific empirical themes.

6.2.1 Perception of need for alignment

The perceived need for organisations to act collectively was widespread, particularly amongst funders and consultants but also amongst many of the nonprofit leaders. For many nonprofit actors in Ireland and South Africa, the issues they faced were huge social challenges (e.g. patriarchy, ageism). The scale of the challenges of shifting attitudes and practices in society required strong organisations to deliver programmes and to underpin social movements and to be able to articulate a coherent message. As a nonprofit actor in the Republic of Ireland put it, in the face of these challenges “we are so small” (CR-ROI-NP). An actor in South Africa claimed

**“What we have at the moment is fewer organisations trying to do more activities in a bad situation. What we need is more organisations that are able to complement each other more effectively.”
(WZ-SA-NP)**

Resources were interpreted as being extremely limited and this meant that acting collectively made sense to these actors as they sought to bring about significant changes to welfare of specific groups of people and/or shift social institutions. There was a perception in both fields that there was overlap across organisations in terms of their purposes and that this was unsustainable going forward as the funding from Atlantic would reduce as the foundation exited both fields. Whilst the issue of reduced funding was frequently articulated by Atlantic staff in both fields as a need for more integration, it was also articulated by many of the nonprofit actors.

There were however significant differences between how actors framed greater integration amongst organisations in the abstract or the ideal sense and the more concrete framing of what they thought was practical given the existing organisational status quo. The desire for collective action within the organisational fields often was perceived through an ideal of an effective, well-managed organisation to co-ordinate the aligned activities. For some, when asked to describe their ideal field, they referenced the need to have a single overarching structure to coordinate activities and the need for a single strong organisation to collectively voice the concerns of the fields.

“I think I would probably create one organisation with different arms and the arms are actually just doing the work and not having to worry about funds. Because the funds are sort of coming from the top and that if any decisions are being made it’s all done by one body and this body can be a consultative body but also a strong opposition to people that want to challenge homosexuals.” (GZ-SA-NP)

“What I would really like to see is an overarching body. I really would love to see a body that could provide either a federation or a national coalition or an alliance. But a body that in a way that can speak authoritatively for its members” (HK-ROI-NP)

Others whilst, not desiring this level of coordination and control, referenced the need for greater integration to face into the collective challenges of the organisations.

“The scale of the task for the sector in tackling the many deficits being experienced by older people against the backdrop of a weakened economic environment is immense. There are a number of critical gaps and challenges facing the sector particularly in the areas of capacity, leadership, the repertoire of skills and financial sustainability that need to be addressed if it is to be an even more effective agent of transformation.” (Age Commission Final Report)

Whilst many actors believed that collective action was necessary in the abstract, many felt that the conflicts which had taken place in the cases of Older & Bolder and the Triple Seven Campaign had identified schisms which made cooperation difficult and that these clashes had highlighted fundamental divisions that could not be worked around. There was a perception that interpretations of problems and solutions needed to be shared to a certain level and that the current organisational fields reflected the complexity of the different positions. As one actor said

“I think the community and voluntary sector needs to be a messy monster but with cohesion and it’s the cohesion, it’s the issues that bring you together.” (HG-ROI-NP)

Also there were considerable distances between those who agreed on the need for greater coordination in terms of the goals they wanted this greater coordination to prioritise. There

were also differences on how this coordinated activity should be organised and led. That is, many actors perceived the need for greater alignment of available resources in an ideal sense but either felt that this was unachievable due to the division within the fields based on competing logics. In some cases actors expressed a desire that some agency (e.g. a funder) should bring coherence to the field by aligning the field around their priorities, which were held to be the “right” direction for the field. As one funder interviewed in South Africa described

“We consulted programme staff and went round to every single organisation. Every single organisation said the lack of coordination is a problem and it’s hampering the efforts to have a cohesive response to hate crimes. But not one of them could offer a solution as to how that might be overcome.” (HM-SA-F).

Overall, there was a perception that the social issues which the organisations were attempting to address in both fields were considerable and the resources available were limited and needed to be better aligned, albeit often with very different conceptions of what this espoused alignment should achieve or look like. That is, in discussions about the ideal organisational field that actors would like to see they often assumed away the institutional complexity and painted a picture of a field that would serve their goals and deliver their strategies much like a single organisation. In the discussions however about the reality of the current organisational fields and reflecting on past efforts, the actors recognised the challenges of working collectively and frequently referenced the challenges across the five efforts to construct collective action.

The interpretations of the role of Atlantic Philanthropies are analysed in greater detail below in a separate section but its main influence on the process was during the initial convening processes of the organisations. As is discussed below, the foundation was seen as one of the main reasons why the efforts at collective action took place although the foundation was not seen as being able to broker compromises or engineer alignments between the actors.

This finding highlights that in the abstract many actors in the fields studied believed that the clarity of strategic planning was desirable, as advocated for by many of the authors who approach the topic of collective action from a strategic management perspective as described in Chapter 2 (i.e. Arsenault, 1998; Austin, 2000; Benton & Austin, 2010; Margerum, 2011). There was not however, a level of consensus on how this alignment should be achieved.

Whilst there was a perception of limited resources and significant problems to be addressed as described by Gray (1989) and Margerum (2011), convening a wide group of stakeholders as recommended by Susskind & Cruikshank (1987) resulted in conflict as actors brought their different interpretations and identities into the room. Collective action in institutionally complex fields was far more tentative and less sequential than the phases of problem-setting, direction setting and structuring as conceptualised by McCann (1983). Often collective action resulted from actors tolerating and/or using ambiguity to align different interpretations rather than reaching clarity at the outset on what problem to focus on and what strategies to employ.

6.2.2 Institutional complexity and ambiguity

In both Ireland and South Africa, at the early stages of the initiatives in particular, some actor referenced attractions across the goals, strategies and identities in different institutional logics. In South Africa some who were closely associated with providing services to specific communities also highlighted patriarchy and class as underlying causes of many of the challenges which LGBTI people face and identified themselves as social activists, albeit with less ambitious objectives for reforming these social institutions. In the cases of violence against LGBTI people and gay marriage, at the start of the discussions there was an openness amongst some to exploring whether common ground could be found despite the different interpretations of the nature of the issues which needed to be addressed. Some actors described having learned from the opposing points of view within collective meetings and seeing attractions in the opposing points of view at the early stages of these initiatives. During the gay marriage campaign there were elements of shared collective identities, which related back to previous efforts using public interest litigation during the anti-apartheid struggles which were referenced in the interviews. In the case of the attempt to construct a campaign against violence towards LGBTI people in South Africa, many of the actors initially approached the discussions with a desire to bring together all of the elements of the field into a single campaign. Before the internal conflicts became acute, some of the actors who adhered more closely to a community logic referenced learning from others who adhered more closely to a social change logic. Some of the social change actors recognised that LGBTI people were particularly prone to being attacked, even if they did not agree with LGBTI people as being framed as vulnerable.

“I found always in those times...for me everything was learning. I really liked a lot of the ideas...the first when I heard about social justice and the first when I heard about the inter-

sectionality of different things...we could have got further.” (JG-SA-NP)

In Ireland, actors in the ageing organisations recognised the need for a strengthened advocacy capacity in the field and some perceived a need for the field to develop a wider social justice narrative to locate their demands for improved welfare and social services within, despite primarily adhering to a community focus in their own work. As is highlighted in by external evaluators who tracked the progress of Older & Bolder, at the beginning, the members were far more enthusiastic about the potential of the initiative to promote the interests of older adults and to add a significant additional capacity to the field. These views shifted significantly over the course of the initiative especially after the conflicts described in Chapter 4, but at the outset there was an openness to exploring how it might work and a belief that collective action across the organisations might lead to a strengthening of the field.

“So that period really felt very supportive and very enlightening and you know being part of this great movement. That’s changed now to you know the present.” (ER-ROI-NP)

Across some of the efforts where actors had not yet established clear dividing lines between the different sets of goals, strategies and identities, there were actors who described seeing value in multiple goals embedded in different logics. As is illustrated in table 3.5, these actors described interpreting priority goals and action strategies in ways that were less partitioned by the boundaries of the institutional logics, as is described above, that were more institutionally ambiguous in the sense that the goals, actions strategies and collective identities were not as clear dividing lines for these actors. The institutional logics were not interpreted as in competition and in the cases of the gay marriage campaign and the early stages of Older & Bolder actors did not experience the same need to adhere as closely to the institutional logics.

As Chapter 2 highlights there is a dearth of research on how multiple institutional logics influence individuals as they interact (Jarzabkowski et al., 2013; Pache & Santos, 2013). Whilst previous studies tend to explore how these logics compete at a macro-level over long periods of time (e.g. Dunn & Jones, 2010; Scott et al., 2000; Thornton, 2002; Thornton & Jones, 2005), this study provides insights into fields where actors attempt to work across and within the interstices of institutional logics. Building on the work of Thornton et al. (2012) the research illustrates how actors can be influenced simultaneously by multiple institutional logics. The research provides an empirical illustration of how Thornton et al.’s (2012) conceptualisation of institutional logics at the individual level as constellations of shared

goals, collective identities and action schema can be operationalised to study multiple institutional logics within fields. By illustrating how institutional logics are experienced at the individual level the research provides a significant contribution to the emerging strand of institutional literature which explores how institutional logics influence at the level of interactions. Studies which focus on how organisations “cope” with or manage the competing demands of institutional complexity highlight the strategic actions such as compartmentalisation and socialisation which organisations engage in to comply with these demands (e.g. Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Santos & Pache, 2010). Focusing at the level of the individual actors as they attempt to construct collective action though, illustrates the ways in which institutional logics influence actors and interactions, by embedding constellations of goals, identities and action strategies.

The findings confirm that the modelling of logics at the individual level as the goals, identities and strategies that are co-implicated to a certain extent in actors’ interpretations and frames is an appropriate way to conceptualise logics. This supports the findings from institutional research that identities are culturally embedded (Glynn, 2000) within institutional logics (Creed et al., 2010; Friedland, 2012b; Lok, 2010; Thornton et al., 2012; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). Across the five cases, social and role identities were important in explaining how institutional logics influenced actions at the individual level as maintained by Thornton et al. (2012). In South Africa and Ireland there were identities associated with social groupings (e.g. the LGBTI community and ageing communities) as described by Hogg & Terry (2000) and Tajfel & Turner (1986) as well as the social roles which these individuals perceived themselves and others as fulfilling (e.g. effective manager, activist). This corresponds with the findings of Hunt & Benford (2004) that collective identity connects people at varying levels to social movements through a specific sub-group of the population (e.g. older adults), through involvement with specific organisations and through identification with wider social change causes so that identities are co-implicated with commitment to action. This analysis extends this previous research by illustrating how these patterns of goals, identities and logics are co-implicated within institutional logics and demonstrating how the level of coherence amongst groups and taken for grantedness of these logics by actors is a matter of degree.

Whilst the findings in this study correspond with Goodrick & Reay's (2011) conclusion that multiple logic influence simultaneously within fields, it differs, from their finding that logics are carried by distinct, highly partitioned groups, in that the actors studied in both South Africa and Ireland were influenced by multiple logics simultaneously and whilst there were some actors who aligned closely with the institutional logics this tended to be a matter of degree rather than absolute partitioning. This dissertation highlights that institutional logics are not necessarily experienced just by coherent groups and that different logics can simultaneously influence individuals to varying degrees.

This understanding of the influence of institutional complexity resembles more closely an analogy used by Friedland & Alford (1991), in the classical Greek understanding of deities, individuals are pulled in different directions by these competing logics. In this more fragmented approach to understanding how institutional logics influence, individuals are sometimes drawn simultaneously towards different competing goals, identities and strategies. The five cases analysed highlight how logics are not strictly partitioned into groups and are, at times, the source of multiple, competing enchantments for some actors. Whereas there are some actors who closely adhere to and promote the goals, identities and action strategies embedded in a single logic and who could be said to “carry” that logic, there is a “messier middle” where actors are less devoted and are more ambiguous about their commitments to the prevailing institutional logics. Similarly, Lok (2010) highlights that actors can simultaneously maintain multiple identities across different logics. As we can see from both the South African and Irish fields studied, the level of “taken for grantedness” or adherence to the institutional logics was a matter of degree, similar to Jepperson's (1991) concept of institutionalisation. Some actors closely adhered to a primary logic in terms of the goals and strategies they espoused and the collective identities they adopted as they interacted. They also adhered to aspects of the organisational logic and some also expressed levels of interest/attraction to goals, identities and strategies in what were considered by some to be opposing logics. We see therefore, using an inductive approach which builds up from the nuance of individual interpretations, a more complex picture where actors are not divided clearly into “balkanised groups” (McPherson & Sauder, 2013) and where individuals are emersed in more complex, at times less deterministic relationships with institutional logics (Jarzabkowski et al., 2013).

As Thornton et al. (2012) argue, the coherence of logics is an empirical matter and this dissertation illustrates how studying inductively multiple institutional logics within fields enables the researcher also to explore how actors can be ambiguously drawn to the different goals, identities and strategies embedded within competing logics. The dissertation therefore makes a methodological contribution to studying institutional complexity through collective action framing processes. This approach enables the derivation of coherent logics at one level of abstraction but also allows a more grounded, complex picture of logics to emerge from the analysis of interactions. The research responds to the call by Zilber (2013) for more inductive approaches to studying institutional logics and to analyse interactions and discourses to explore how institutions influence meanings and actions in the same vein as Zilber (2002) but with a more explicit use of the modelling of micro-processes developed by Thornton et al. (2012).

Similar to Joanne Martin's perspective on culture as the source of integration, differentiation and fragmentation (Martin, 1992, 2002; Meyerson & Martin, 1987) this research highlights how institutional complexity can be the source of ambiguity. Whereas previous research has illustrated how the contradictions in institutionally complex fields can create greater awareness of institutional logics and be the source of institutional change (Seo & Creed, 2002), this research highlights the practical implications of the ambiguity caused by multiple institutional logics and how this ambiguity can be used or tolerated by actors for periods of time.

Although authors such as Schneiberg & Lounsbury (2008: 649) highlight that "multiple logics, contradictions and ambiguities fuel field-level change and new path creation" this ambiguity is rarely explored at the individual level and its practical implications studied in terms of interactions. Most of the research has focused instead on how institutional contradictions generate field-level changes (e.g. Seo & Creed, 2002) rather than how individuals experience these institutional contradictions and how this ambiguity influences interpretations and actions. This research makes a novel contribution to the institutional literature by illustrating how ambiguity is experienced by individuals in terms of multiple attractions to aspects of different institutional logics and by outlining how actors will tolerate multiple institutional logics, where they are not constructed as conflictual. This

conceptualisation of institutional logics draws on previous work by Martin (1992, 2002) and Meyerson & Martin (1987) to illustrate that systems of cultural beliefs and practices can unite, divide but also create ambiguity for actors.

The influence of institutional logics which emerges from the five cases is of relatively stable, enduring patterns of beliefs and practices which influence individuals to varying degrees depending on their previous experiences and interactions. The novel contribution of this research is to illustrate that whilst the goals, identities and action strategies embedded within these logics can be relatively taken for granted, the coherence of the influence of these institutional logics varies at the level of individuals and in particular, how multiple institutional logics can create ambiguity for actors. The practical implications of these findings for the construction of collective action is now discussed below.

6.2.3 Divided by their devotion

Some actors adhered closely to specific logics and were interested in promoting their own logics rather than accommodating different goal, strategies and identities. These actors also tended to preference working with a smaller group of those that closely shared similar logics rather than trying to mobilise the wider field. As we have seen in Chapters 4 and 5, the institutional logics, by embedding goals, collective identities and action strategies provided the basis for conflicts during the field planning events in both fields, the campaign to counter violence against LGBTI people in South Africa and the growth of Older & Bolder into an organisation in Ireland.

“I would say that some of the reasons of the failure, the attempt of the sector to work collaboratively whether it’s in the Joint Working Group or the Triple Seven Campaign is precisely because of some of those fault lines and very different ideological positions that are taken by individuals and organisations in the sector.” (CY-SA-NP)

Some actors within these fields were firmly convinced that their goals and strategies were fundamentally the right way to address these issues. In the cases of the discussions about the futures of the fields in South Africa and Ireland post the Atlantic funding, the institutional logics strongly influenced how actors perceived the goals the actors felt the field should prioritise, their sense of collective identity and the types of strategies that they felt should be adopted. Where the actors interpreted these goals as in competition with other goals or the identities as in competition with other groups of actors in the field, there was little appetite or

curiosity regarding engaging in collective action with actors who did not share the same goals and identities. Interestingly, these actors had often engaged in previous conflicts based around prioritising goals and strategies within the field, where their goals, strategies and/or identities had been challenged and which had helped define the divisions from others who adhered to other logics. In that sense, the previous conflicts had created a stricter, ideological devotion to the logics and an antipathy to what were now often perceived as competing logics. These interactions did not “create” the logics but instead sharpened the definitions of divisions between the goals, identities and action strategies. In South Africa, for example the clashes within the Joint Working Group over “the Triple Seven Campaign” amongst people who had previously collaborated on the gay marriage campaign, created conflict which helped define for some actors their adherence to institutional logics in a clearer way than they had prior to this conflict. A similar situation took place during the Older & Bolder experience in Ireland with actors emerging from the process resistant to the introduction of any new organisational structure. In this way, previous conflicts made the divisions between logics more salient and helped define the logics more clearly and in contradistinction to other logics.

The cross case analysis highlights how some actors can be ideologically “enchanted” (Friedland, 2009a) by institutional logics. Whereas much of the research on multiple institutional logics assumes that actors manage the demands of extant logics to access resources or to preserve legitimacy, this research illustrates how individuals can ideologically adhere to logics at points in time. The analyses of the South African and Irish cases highlight how actors can passionately identify with institutional logics as argued by Friedland (2012a). This research illustrates how institutional logics can influence not only the action strategies of actors, but also how they perceive themselves in terms of collective identities and the goals that they collectively strive for. The research also highlights how clashes between logics can lead to cognitive dissonance when actors closely adhere to or are enchanted by a single, dominant institutional logic and interpret the goals and strategies of others as almost incomprehensible. As Douglas (1986: 126) states

“...diplomacy between different kinds of institutions will generally fail. Warnings will be misread. Appeals to nature and reason, compelling to one party, will seem childish or fraudulent to the other.”

This image of logics is far removed from the more strategic toolkit type approach advanced by McPherson & Sauder (2013) and illustrates how institutional logics in some fields can be

productively conceptualised as culturally embedding sets of goals, identities and action strategies and that actors within fields tend to adhere to. The conceptualisation of logics for some (but not all) actors in the five cases is closer to institutional logics as ideologies (Friedland, 2009a). This approach to ideology is closer to the cultural tradition as conceptualising ideology as a constitutive of social reality (Billig et al., 1988; R. E. Meyer, Sahlin, Ventresca, & Walgenbach, 2009). As is illustrated above, the institutional logics in this study became more sharply defined after individuals had engaged in conflicts. This finding that the enchantment (Friedland, 2009a) of individuals by specific institutional logics tends to be in part due to their experiences of conflict with others adhering to different institutional logics adds to our insights into how institutional logics become salient and guide action in more “ideological” (Friedland, 2009a) ways.

This also corresponds to Swidler's (1986) conception of “unsettled” fields where cultural goals ideologically guide individuals’ actions. The novel contribution of this research though, is to illustrate how multiple logics provide a more enduring influence in some less structured fields than the more temporary unsettled phase envisaged by Swidler's (1986). Institutionally complex fields are “unsettled” to use Swidler’s (1986) phrase but this is not necessarily a temporary phenomenon before the fields return to an equilibrium settled state with a dominant logic. As we have seen above, the potential contradictions between the institutional logics are enduring and not necessarily resolved through interactions. This dissertation provides an illustration of how institutional logics can be “ideological” in a sense described by Friedland (2009a) and influence actors’ goals as well as their action strategies as institutional logics become contested within the fields. Conflictual interactions play a particular role in sharpening the definitions between the institutional logics and influencing actors to adhere more closely to these logics. This is an important finding which illustrates that the extent to which institutional logics can be conceptualised as coherent, integrated, constellations of goals, identities and action strategies is a matter of degree which depends on the background and history of fields. Rather than institutional logics being conceived as intrinsically coherent (Friedland, 2012b) and ideological (Friedland, 2009a) or, at the other end of the spectrum, as toolkits to be used by actors (McPherson & Sauder, 2013) the degree of plurality and taken for grantedness is contingent. The level of coherence within fields in terms of institutional logics varies as logics are brought into contestation.

6.2.4 Competition to sustain organisations

Even where actors shared the goals, collective identities and action schema embedded within a specific logic (e.g. the community logic or the social change logic) competition based on the organisational logic, which encourages competition to promote the growth and profile of the organisation as an end in itself, often made collective action more difficult. In order to engage in collective action actors needed to be motivated by goals from another logic besides the organisational logic to make sense of why they should collaborate beyond their organisational boundaries (e.g. promote the interests of a specific community, challenge fundamental social institutions). In the case of the gay marriage campaign in South Africa and at the early stages of the Older & Bolder initiative the collective action was framed in terms of a variety of goals and the logic of competition amongst the organisations was managed. In the South African example of gay marriage a core group of activists managed the tensions between organisations and made sense of why certain organisations should lead at various stages. Although there were tensions based on organisational rivalries, a sense of ambiguity was maintained without a clear hierarchy ever being established between the organisations with a core group of activists co-ordinating the activity. In the case of Older & Bolder in Ireland at the outset the actors made sense of the alignment around the need for a strong, united advocacy voice to impact on policy making. This was a goal which they identified with to a certain extent and there was a degree of ambiguity about the level of responsibility that organisations had for the initiative. Once, however, the initiative started to threaten their organisational goals, identities and individual strategies they brought Older & Bolder to a close. The organisational logic tended to pull organisations towards concentrating on and promoting their own activities.

As was discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, the organisational logic embedded goals, strategies and identities that influenced actors to perceive the need to grow their own organisation. In this way, rather than functionally compartmentalising the areas where they were in competition and where they would compete, actors saw themselves primarily in competition for funding, influence and profile and this affected the way they interacted with other organisations, especially during the field planning exercises. In the South African case, the organisational logic changed how people interpreted activism and organisations were perceived by some as becoming vehicles for actors to promote themselves in terms of their own profile and

influence, which inhibited the perceived value of collective action and often enhanced the perceived need to engage in competition.

The fact that many of the organisations had expanded their overhead costs with the support of funders, especially the Atlantic Philanthropies, made this imperative to compete more acutely felt. In both South Africa and Ireland the organisations perceived a need to replace this core funding during the discussions on the future of the fields in each country and many raised concerns in relation to sustainability. This was perceived as adding to the competition between organisations as they engaged in discussions, simultaneously seeking to align around shared goals and secure the financial future of their own organisations. It was perceived by some that this logic of promoting your own organisation needed to be moderated or tempered if collective action was to successfully take place in the fields going forward.

“I invite people not to think about their desks and their chairs and their pay but actually we all wanted to keep our jobs and so on but if we can approach this thing at the moment just for the moment from the sole thinking of like that the problem that we are trying to eliminate from society.” (LM-SA-NP)

For some this was too big a challenge for nonprofit leaders and required the more assertive involvement of funders to provide direction.

“Perhaps the Joint Working Group is supposed to be run by a funder. That people would say we have to listen to that guy because he’s sitting with all the money. But I’m not going to take Triangle Project seriously or Behind the Mask seriously because they’re sister organisations.” (GZ-SA-NP)

Whilst many agreed that funders should provide more direction, there was also paradoxically, a strong desire expressed that collective action should not be donor driven, with some acknowledging the internal contradiction of these statements and leaving the paradox unresolved.

In summary, the context in which the collective action took place was therefore a combination of a number of potentially complementary and contradictory logics. There was a perception of a need for greater coordination of the organisational field to ensure that the limited available resources were targeted and coordinated to address the significant challenges that the fields faced. There were however, very different goals, collective identities and action strategies that actors adhered to. These institutional logics provided at a level of abstraction, a coherent explanation for many of the divisions within the fields studied. This adherence, or the extent

of the taken for grantedness of the institutional logics was a matter of degree with groups of actors adhering quite closely to these logics. Others though constituted a “messier middle” and were less rigid in their adherence to their institutional logic and were attracted to aspects of other logics. A common logic across the five cases was an organisational logic which culturally embedded goals, identities and strategies which gave rise to competition for resources, influence and profile. This logic tended to inhibit the extent to which actors would interpret issues collectively and embedded goals, strategies and identities associated with the promotion of the individual organisations.

We now turn to exploring in more detail how these logics were experienced by, and influenced, actors during efforts to construct collective action.

6.3 Interactions to construct collective action within institutionally complex settings

As table 3.5 in Chapter 3 illustrates there were common themes across the efforts analysed in terms of interactive processes that involved both conflict across the different logics as well as efforts to evoke common collective identities and to avoid bringing the different logics into contention in settings of institutional complexity.

6.3.1 Alignment through ambiguity

As we have seen in Chapters 4 and 5, whilst the logics provided the actors with coherent goals, identities and action strategies, these were not always interpreted as mutually exclusive. For those more influenced by a social change logic in the South African field for example, they saw the value of marriage more as a symbolic human rights victory whereas those influenced more by a community logic saw it as providing practical benefits for members and constituents. The actors were also able to park organisational rivalries to some extent, with different organisations taking the lead at different stages. The actors were aware of the tensions and differences (e.g. the fact that some were opposed to marriage as an institution) but chose to allow two inconsistent interpretations to be maintained and to focus instead on what united them. In the case of the gay marriage campaign, this was collective identities and action strategies drawn from the public interest litigation work of the anti-apartheid movement. There was a small group of actors within this campaign that were aware of the

potential for the competing interpretations and collective identities to conflict and worked hard to ensure that they were not brought into contestation and framed the campaign in ways that aligned with the institutional logics of the different actors. This ambiguity in terms of actors not exclusively adhering to a single institutional logic created a space for actors who were willing to emphasise the shared aspects of the different goals, identities and to pursue shared action strategies.

For some, it depended on how the point was framed and to what extent the person making the point was seeking to construct a common space or seeking to advance their own goals and identities in opposition to others. An evaluation of the efforts to construct a common vision of LGBTI organising in South Africa highlighted that many actors felt alienated by the attempts to construct a vision based exclusively on a social change logic

“But in emphasising the importance of black lesbian leadership, aided by white sisters, this grouping became almost a block which used patriarchy as a bludgeon which may well have caused white, male gays to withdraw, not out of disagreement but out of a sense of the futility of being constantly flogged for their opposition to something with which they agreed.” (Cluster Evaluation Report on South African LGBTI Programme, 2010)

Similarly in the case of the Older & Bolder initiative in Ireland, the ageing organisations in the early stages were supportive of the initiative and agreed with the goal of increasing the strength of the advocacy voice for older adults in Ireland, although many were more committed to goals, strategies and identities of providing voluntary services to the ageing community. They were not passionate about the Older & Bolder Initiative in the early stages but agreed broadly that it did good work. There was a certain obfuscation of the governance responsibilities, as the leaders of the ageing organisations did not regularly attend the board meetings, delegating this responsibility to others within their own organisations. What was described by some as a passive, arm’s length approach to Older & Bolder meant that competing goals, strategies and identities embedded in the community logic and the nascent advocacy practices were not brought into contestation. Also competition based on the organisational logic was not openly discussed and debated. Again, maintaining this ambiguity enabled the actors involved initially to avoid bringing the logics into direct contestation.

Conversely, at the field planning events the actors came with very different sets of goals, identities and action strategies and organisational rivalries. The discussions brought these to

the fore in unambiguous ways, which resulted in little progress towards collective action and greater clarity over the dividing lines between actors, described in more detail below.

This finding that certain actors used the ambiguity that existed in the interstices between the multiple logics to enable collective action across these logics by framing the goals, strategies and identities in different ways to different groups of actors supports the view adopted by Hardy, Lawrence, & Grant (2005) that ambiguity provides opportunities for the construction of collective action. This analysis significantly extends the work of Hardy, Lawrence, & Grant (2005) by illustrating how this ambiguity exists in the interstices between logics and provides some scope for people to organise collectively across these logics. Kraatz & Block (2008) highlight that institutional pluralism creates opportunities for leadership. Elsbach & Sutton (1992) highlight how some actors within social movement organisations can manage impressions to different audiences and this research highlights the creative use of ambiguity in working across institutional logics. Whereas research such as Elsbach & Sutton (1992) and Kraatz & Block (2008) highlight the potential of leaders to work across the multiple logics and Jarzabkowski et al. (2013) employ the concept of ambidexterity to describe how institutional complexity can engender creative, skilful response across logics, this dissertation highlights that actors often need to work tentatively across deeply ingrained logics and maintaining and/or tolerating ambiguity is one way to do this. As this ambiguity is reduced and actors become more closely aligned with logics, efforts to work across these logics will result in conflict and less tolerance of differences.

These efforts to use ambiguity within fields of nonprofit organisations could be also be conceptualised as a form of institutional work as set out by Lawrence, Suddaby, & Leca (2009, 2010) Lawrence & Suddaby (2006) and in particular as the creative embrace of contrition as set out by Hargrave & Van De Ven (2009). It is also similar to the switching of practices between logics described by Jarzabkowski et al. (2013). One important caveat though is that this study illustrates efforts where actors primarily attempt to temporarily align across institutional logics rather than purposefully create new logics or maintain and disrupt existing ones. This illustrates the challenges which the actors experienced in attempting to work across these institutional logics. The actors in the cases in this study often were not setting out to purposefully institutionalise collective action in the organisational fields but

rather worked tentatively and with limited success across the existing institutional logics within the fields.

6.3.2 Constructing the common external enemy

Amongst the actors in South Africa there was at a certain level, a common identification with an LGBTI identity but this was seen by many as latent and that it had diminished in the absence of a shared set of goals after the legal advancements. Many ironically saw the achievement of the legal goals as the source of fragmentation in terms of a sense of an LGBTI community and felt that a commonly felt “threat” was needed for the organisational fields to unite and to create a sense of a shared problem to be addressed. One actor commented at a scenario-planning meeting that the alphabet soup of LGBTI was not a coherent grouping and that “the irony was that there was not enough repression in the external environment because in repression people stay together.” (Scenario planning meeting minutes SA). Another actor said that “what binds the LGBT and I together is the fact of the oppression that all of us have faced” (Scenario planning meeting minutes). Where actors did construct a common goal, the presence of a threat was socially constructed and the collective action frames in response to this threat/opportunity drew on organising identities and skills which were accessible due to previous shared experiences.

Although many cited conservative religious and traditional actors as a threat to LGBTI interests, this enemy needed to be constructed and felt as proximate. In the case of the campaign against violence against LGBTI people there was an inability to agree on who the enemy was. Some felt that it was the perpetrators of the violence in townships whilst others felt that this would stigmatise black, males and that the real enemy were those that maintained the status quo of social institutions such as race, class and gender.

In the ageing field in the Republic of Ireland, the external threats to the group of organisations were less clear-cut. The actors often referenced ageism as a problem but were not perceived as having an agreed, realistic strategy for addressing it. Rather it was seen as a cultural phenomenon that was difficult to address as it was spread throughout society, including the ageing field itself. The government was seen to a certain extent as both an external threat and

potential opportunity for the field. It was a threat in the sense that civil servants and politicians would ignore them if they did not manage to collectively organise into a coherent advocacy voice that would galvanise the latent political power, which older adults have as a voting bloc. Older & Bolder was perceived at the outset, as an opportunity to coherently input into policy-making. Some felt though that the ageing field had not grasped this opportunity and needed as it consider the future of the field to take account of the potential threat of being ignored by policy-makers. The funders and consultants interviewed, in particular felt that the ageing organisations had not constructed in their interactions a sense of the urgency of the threats and opportunities facing older adults and that this had inhibited moves towards collective action. In the Irish field the absence of proximate threat felt by the actors in the ageing organisations meant that there was less reason for them to align in collective action and the status quo of the organisational field was largely preserved.

The findings of the research in relation to the construction of a common external enemy highlights how actors elevate the salience of certain goals and strategies by constructing collective identities (as discussed above) and often do this in contradistinction to other groups. That is identity construction involves both acts of inclusion and exclusion (Hardy et al., 1998) and the extent to which the actors saw themselves as a field with a common purpose was influenced in part by the extent to which they jointly interpreted a compelling threat or opportunity externally. This is also similar to the in-group/out-group distinctions made within social identity research (Hogg & Terry, 2000). The framing of the need for collective action in response to threats builds on Hardy, Lawrence, & Grant's (2005) finding that collective identity is critically important for effective collaboration and extends this by highlighting the role of commonly perceived external threats in making collective identities salient. There is not an objective reality to these threats and the construction of the common enemy is a discursive achievement, similar to how Hardy, Lawrence, & Grant's (2005) conceptualise collective identity. The contrasting ability of the LGBTI field to construct a common enemy during the gay marriage campaign and the inability to do so during efforts to collectively respond to violent attacks against LGBTI people provide an illustrative example of this.

The findings of this dissertation in relation to the construction of collective identities and collective action, aligns with the collective action framing literature which highlights that

identity construction is an intrinsic part of frame alignment processes which bring particular collective identities into salience at particular moments in history (Benford & Snow, 2000; Cerulo, 1997; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Gamson, 1991; D. A. Snow et al., 1986). The contribution of this study is to highlight the prominent role that constructing an external enemy plays in efforts to construct collective action under conditions of institutional complexity in making a particular collective identity salient at a point in time, from the other available collective identities, to instigate collective action.

6.3.3 Eliminating the ambiguity and constructing internal dividing lines

Efforts to create strategic clarity often brought the different institutional logics into conflict. As can be seen in Chapters 4 and 5, actors were aware of how others were interpreting problems and recommending solutions and often tended to frame their positions in distinction to these. They often used the opposing logic as a point of reference when articulating their frames. In this way, the differences between the goals, identities and action strategies of the community and social change logics in South Africa were emphasised, often in contradistinction to the goals, strategies and identities of others. The initial ambiguity was eliminated and dividing lines constructed as actors clashed over interpretations of the nature of social problems and what issues and activities should be prioritised

“And there was just the general climate, suddenly there was this kind of lifting and unveiling. I think they all felt quite optimistic at the time. Look it took a very short time before realising they were you know, they were a quite obvious division and those divisions quite often fell along the race and class lines.” (AY-SA-NP)

Often the goals, identities and strategies of different logics created cognitive dissonance for these actors. They referenced examples where cooperation had been tried and had failed and felt that there was a need not to invite in the wider field into discussions going forward. Rather than seeing potential attractions in other logics and strength in numbers, they were unambiguous in their interpretations that those as adhering to alternative logics were acting at cross-purposes with them, in some cases were unintelligible and had no desire to work with them.

“That’s one of the mistakes of the Joint Working Group post 2006/7, that it didn’t have an external focus of collaborative programming, allowing them all the time and opportunities to be used by those who are in the room and “where’s the intersex?”, “who’s speaking?” and “who’s not speaking?”...So time after time it becomes a perpetual thing there is something else going on,

which I can't immediately pin point but it was the very need of a few dominant individuals to have these sort of discussions and never focus on the work. I don't know what motivates them." (PQ-SA-NP)

Similarly, in the Republic of Ireland in relation to Older & Bolder, as the organisation tried to establish itself and attempted to introduce a greater level of advocacy logics into the field, there was little meeting of minds amongst the actors as the incumbent actors felt threatened by this new structure, which they had previously tolerated. There was a feeling on both sides of the dispute that they were morally right

"I spoke to [a nonprofit leader], we are on the board together, he said look this is crazy, we have a situation...we've written, we both felt that [senior figure in Older & Bolder] had lost the plot. [The senior figure in Older & Bolder] hadn't read the situation and didn't understand." (BA-ROI-C)

The same actor that was described in this quote as having "lost the plot felt" that those who opposed Older & Bolder had behaved reprehensibly and should "reflect on their own behaviour". In both South Africa and the Republic of Ireland during the discussion around the future of the fields, there was a tendency for those that adhered closely to a single logic to interpret other logics as incomprehensible and often attribute malign, self-serving motivations to those who opposed their own goals and strategies.

These clear divisions between logics were referenced after conflicts where the goals and or identities of the actors had been challenged. These discussions of collective action were far more than rational, functional dispassionate debates over where strategies overlapped and involved bringing into contestation different logics. As we can see from the above examples, the initial room for manoeuvre in terms of creating collective action was sharply reduced by actors engaged in directly challenging and counter framing each other's goals, strategies and identities. In the case of gay marriage in South Africa a central group of actors managed to preserve a certain ambiguity throughout the course of the campaign. The clarity however which actors sought to bring when they engaged directly in discussion and debates about the future of fields and the violence against LGBTI people and Older & Bolder resulted in divided interpretations and counter-framing with each side convinced that the other was in the wrong and perceiving them as part of the problem rather than part of the solution. The tolerance of ambiguity was reduced as actors experienced conflict, with many referencing little desire to experience similar conflicts going forward and these conflicts reduced the ambiguity between the logics and the desire of actors to work across the logics.

In the case of gay marriage in South Africa, it is particularly striking that after a successful campaign, as some actors sought to establish a strategic coherence in the interorganisational work, the collective action quickly broke down as they discussed the priorities the field should focus on and the underlying causes of the problems LGBTI people faced. The Joint Working Group became a site of conflict and a location where division along coherent groupings of goals, identities and strategies were created. Similarly, in the Republic of Ireland the clashes over Older & Bolder led to a firm conviction on the part of some actors in the field that they should seek to create any new separate initiative around promoting a social movement and instead focus on building incrementally on the strengths of the existing organisations.

There was a tendency for actors to reject a logic that they were not identified with in favour of one that they were closely identified with as predicted by Pache & Santos (2013). The logics and the identification of the actors with those logics however, were insufficient to explain whether conflict would take place. Many actors, a priori who did not actively oppose logics that they were unfamiliar with and in some of the incidents studied, actors were willing to tolerate and accommodate different interpretations within collective efforts for periods of time. It was often only after these logics had been constructed as oppositional that they actively rejected these logics. Prior to the conflict they were often willing to engage in collective action to advance goals and strategies that they had a level of attraction to, although they were located in another logics. This finding is a novel contribution to the literature on the role of ambiguity in the construction of collective action across institutional logics and it illustrates how efforts to achieve strategic clarity can precipitate the elimination of the ambiguity that allows collective action to take place across multiple institutional logics. This causes conflicts which clarify and extend the divisions between the logics.

6.4 Outcomes

In the efforts to construct collective action across multiple institutional logics, some temporary alignments did take place in the cases of Older & Bolder and the gay marriage campaign. After conflicts took place, smaller groups of organisations formed which shared common interpretations of the problems to be addressed and how to address it and a smaller

section of the field was mobilised to address the issue. This segmentation enabled the actors to establish smaller groupings of actors who shared the many aspects of their institutional logics but with less collective organisational resources to address the problems they faced. Three core conceptual themes emerge from analysing the actors' interpretations of these outcomes.

6.4.1 Temporary alignment

The gay marriage example in South Africa and to a certain extent the early stages of the Older & Bolder campaign in Ireland highlight that collective action across institutional logics is possible. Actors can align activities by tolerating ambiguity and allowing different interpretations to co-exist. Efforts though to establish broader strategic clarity as in the case of organisations in the Joint Working Group or the organisations which were members of Older & Bolder brought these different logics into conflict. Temporary alignment was possible but new institutional logics did not develop around the collective activity and the collective action was interpreted through the institutional logics of the actors, which were durable. Actors in the South African field did manage to avoid bringing the different logics into conflict during the gay marriage campaign but the image of collective action in institutionally complex settings which emerges from the analysis is one of enduring institutional logics, with actors using or tolerating the ambiguity in the interstices between these logics to temporarily construct collective action. Over time this segmented into smaller groupings, influenced by the logics as actors attempted to achieve strategic clarity.

"It was exciting because in many ways we did forge a movement around the three objectives but once we achieved the three objectives, yah, there was no movement." (NF-SA-NP)

Collective action did not result in significant changes in the prevailing institutional logics. The collective action was a temporary phenomenon made possible by the tolerance of ambiguity, which became more problematic as distinctions between the goals, identities and strategies embedded in the logics came into focus. Overall, the collective action that did exist across the institutional logics was fragile and needed purposeful effort to construct it on an ongoing basis. The analysis confirms the challenges identified in constructing collective action across different discourses as theorised by Hardy, Lawrence, & Grant (2005) and found support for their assertion that collaboration should be seen as an on-going accomplishment.

This image of logics as providing relatively stable sources of potential contradictory influences within fields over the short to medium terms is similar to some previous studies (i.e. Dunn & Jones, 2010; Reay & Hinings, 2009; Schneiberg & Clemens, 2006) and the logics are shown to be important for understanding how actors make sense of their social reality as proposed by Friedland & Alford (1991). The social change, community and organisational logics in South Africa and the community and organisational logics in Ireland were durable and were not significantly altered by the efforts to construct collective action and did not lead to new institutional logics through hybrid practices as found by Smets, Morris, & Greenwood (2012) or proto-institutions as found by Lawrence et al. (2002). The efforts to construct collective action rather were shaped within the contexts of the multiple logics over the period studied. The analysis of the efforts to construct collective action across the five cases highlights the fragility of collective action in institutional complex fields. This provides an explanation based on institutional logics for Della Porta & Diani's (2006) finding that interorganisational collective action within social movements is often time limited. According to Hardy et al. (1998) durable collective action requires the construction of shared sets of meanings and interpretations. This is challenging where actors have different institutionalised beliefs about what needs to be done, how it should be done and who should be involved.

Using the framework of institutional logics, the dissertation highlights that over shorter periods of time actors can use and/or tolerate ambiguity to achieve goals which they have some level of attraction to and which they interpret differently, but over the longer run, as attempts are made to bring strategic clarity to priorities, strategic action and who should be involved, the different interpretations come into conflict. This results in the collective action across the interstices of the institutional logics ending and collective action being pursued in smaller groups where the institutional logics are more aligned.

6.4.2 Bounded cooperation

In both South Africa and the Republic of Ireland the field planning events which were held to discuss the future of the organisational fields were generally interpreted to have had marginal direct influence on the extent to which actors engaged in collective action. Instead, the events to discuss the future of the field usually crystallised for everyone the divisions as actors

engaged in framing and countering framing. The by-product of these events was segmentation by the organisations into smaller groupings, which enabled a greater coherence around the framing of issues but at the cost of only mobilising portions of the actors in the field.

In the cases in both South Africa and the Republic of Ireland there was more bounded, tentative cooperation amongst the organisations in these segmented groupings. These collaborative efforts tended to grow from the existing, overlapping work of the organisations rather than from bold new departures arising from planning events. In the case of the Triple Seven Campaign a number of demonstrations and media events were held which framed the issue of violence against LGBTI very much from a social change perspective highlighting the wider issue of violence in South Africa and the need to challenge patriarchy. In the case of the Tri-Party Initiative in Ireland the organisations collaborated more closely on specific projects and programmes they were engaged with. Similarly amongst the LGBTI organisations in South Africa that adhered more closely to a community logic, they engaged in more tentative co-operation around specific projects where there was a shared interest in developing specific products (e.g. joint publications) or joint events (e.g. workshops). The Joint Working Group, the interorganisational network, was perceived as being now defunct and the actors now collaborated to a greater extent on more defined, smaller projects. In the Republic of Ireland in the Tri-Party Initiative, the organisations decided not to fundamentally reform their structures, support any new structures and decided instead to build collaboration from their existing programming. This more bounded collective action in Ireland and South Africa tended to take place where actors aligned along institutional logics lines.

The findings in this dissertation on the outcomes of efforts to construct collective action provide an illustration of how fields of actors segment into smaller groups. This finding accords with the claim by Phillips et al., (2000) that collective action will be more likely to reoccur and reproduce if itself is located within the same institutional meaning system. The more bounded collective action which took place amongst these organisations on specific issues highlights how organisations can still compete for funding but still engage in more specific areas of co-operation as found in social movement research (Della Porta & Diani, 2006; Staggenborg, 1991). This was far removed from the collective action envisaged from a strategic management perspective and arose not out of a sequential strategic planning process

starting from the identification of a shared mission (e.g. Bailey & McNally Koney, 2000) but rather from more iterative and at times conflictual discussions which resulted in the segmentation of the field into sub-groups who shared similar institutional logics. As is discussed above, the conflicts were significant processes in segmenting the fields and clarifying the difference between the institutional logics and gave rise to collective action amongst smaller groups in both of the fields.

6.4.3 Collective Inaction

The actors in Ireland expressed a desire to work towards establishing a more robust and coherent advocacy voice for older adults, reverted to augmenting their existing programmes. There was a general sense of frustration that there had not been more progress made and that so much time and effort had resulted in conflicts and disputes. Similarly, those actors who adhered more to a community logic and who had not participated in the Triple Seven Campaign expressed a sense of regret that they had not been able to construct a common campaign across the field. These actors had experienced a sort of alienation from these efforts to construct collective action and had returned instead to what they regarded as their core organisational activities rather than engage with these issues. These actors focused on their own programming and expressed discomfort at their collective inaction.

“So therefore there was a lot of clashes and also at that stage. I had to focus somewhere...I have other places where I can go to as well...unfortunately that’s how things went.” (JG-SA-NP)

They expressed feelings of being confused and frustrated as to why more progress had not been made despite all of the efforts and resources which had gone into constructing collective action in both fields. They also expressed regret that LGBTI people in South Africa or older adults in Ireland had not benefited from larger campaigns drawing on the resources and capacities of all of the organisations to counter issues like violence against LGBTI people or augmenting the advocacy capacity of older adults.

“So it’s all very sad really but...I mean the positive in it is that good work has happened actually. Advocacy has happened and that can never be denied.” (ER-ROI-NP)

This in turn then influenced the extent to which actors had an appetite for discussing the future development of the fields as the Atlantic Philanthropies began to exit both fields.

This finding highlights that in settings of institutional complexity, even where aspects of goals overlap, collective action can be inhibited by conflict often based on different wider interpretations and collective identities. This resulted in inaction on issues amongst actors who were well disposed initially to contributing to collective efforts. This finding is a significant and original contribution to our understanding of the practical implications of institutional complexity for collective action.

6.5 Constructing a process model of how institutional complexity influences efforts to construct collective action

In terms of constructing a model from these theoretical concepts, Figure 6.1 depicts how institutional complexity influences the interactions and outcomes of efforts to construct collective action. The model sets out how the multiple institutional logics provide the context for collective action and the ways in which the interactions bring these logics into conflict or maintain a level of ambiguity. In both the Republic of Ireland and South African fields there were multiple institutional logics which influenced actors. These logics often related to how the field had developed over time (e.g. the voluntary service orientation of ageing nonprofits in Ireland) and the wider cultural and historical contexts within which the fields existed (e.g. the influence of issues of race, class and gender in post-apartheid South Africa). These multiple institutional logics embedded distinct sets of goals, collective identities and action strategies which gave rise to different interpretations and frames in relation to collective action priorities. In the South African field, the three logics of community, social change and organisation provided the basis for a number of conflicts between actors who adhered to and promoted different goals, identities and strategies. In the Republic of Ireland field the different goals, identities and strategies preserved the status quo by shaping actors’ interpretations of how they should engage with efforts to construct collective action around an increased advocacy and policy change narrative.

As has been highlighted in both South Africa and Ireland, at a level of abstraction the logics provide explanations for divisions in terms of the priorities and strategy articulated by actors in terms of collective action. In both Ireland and South Africa, there were some actors who adhered closely to a logic and saw the goals, collective identities and strategies embedded in other logics as wrong-headed. Close adherence to logics and perceiving other alternative

logics as competing was often the result of previous conflicts which helped define for individuals how the goals, strategies and identities which they adhered to were different to and in competition with the goals, identities and action strategies of others. The context with which collective action took place was heavily influenced by previous experiences of working within institutionally complex settings and this feedback loop between the interactions and the outcomes and the institutional context is highlighted in Figure 6.1. Whilst some actors within the fields were more heavily influenced by certain logics, this tended to be matters of degree rather than absolute partitions between actors. Some actors at times had multiple goals and sources of identification. Whilst there are obvious schisms between the actors based on constellations of different identities, schema and goals, these are not hermetically partitioned into different groups of actors and there were periods where ambiguity was used and tolerated by some actors.

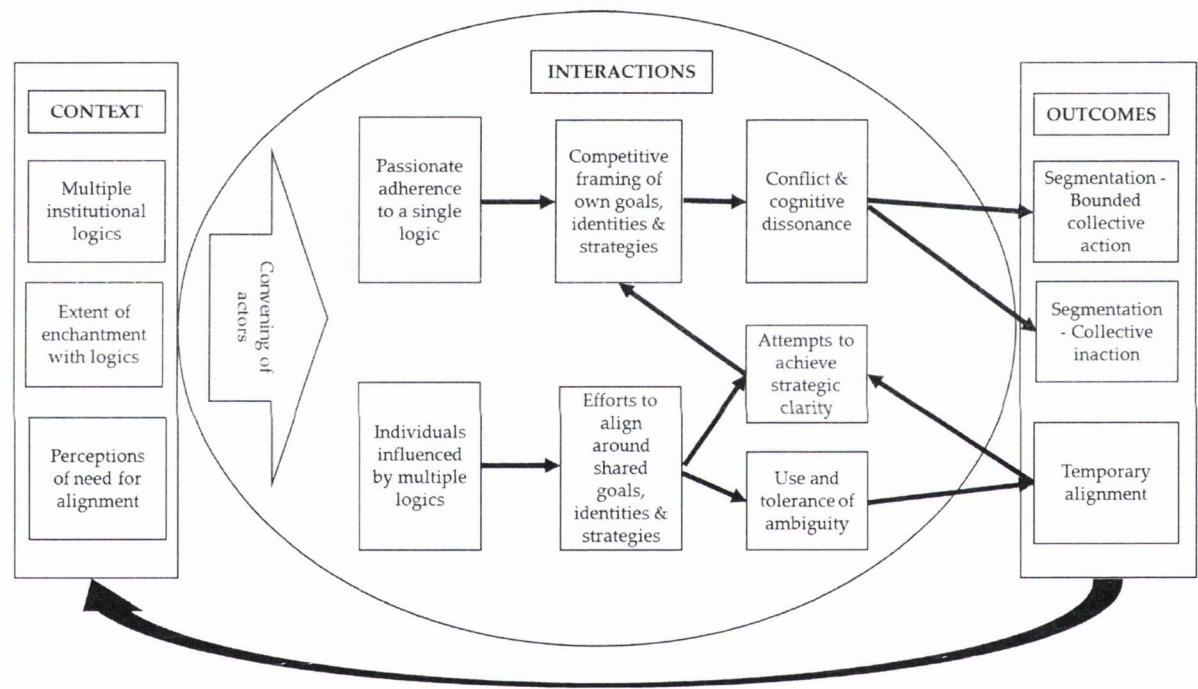
This ambiguity at the interstices of the institutional logics is very important for understanding collective action across institutional logics. Whilst actors often shared a perception that the available resources within the organisational field needed to be aligned to address the fundamental challenges they faced, institutional logics that were interpreted as in conflict and organisational competition often made this challenging. The presence and tolerance of ambiguity enabled the organisations to engage in collective action even when they attached different meanings to outcomes. This ambiguity enabled collective action to take place across the boundaries of institutional logics. This collective action was fragile and at no stage became taken for granted.

Where actors adhere more closely to different logics and are brought together across institutional logics to discuss strategic alignment, this will result in competitive framing, conflict and cognitive dissonance and then segmentation into smaller groups. These smaller groups will have more alignment amongst the goals, identities and action strategies and will engage in collective action, but a section of the field will be alienated from these efforts and their capacities and resources will not be aligned to address the issue.

On the other hand, as Figure 6.1 illustrates, where actors are attracted to aspects of the multiple logics they will be more tolerant of the contradictions and not seek to establish

strategic clarity and collective action can take place across the different institutional logics. Over time though in the cases studied, efforts were made to establish clarity which result in conflict and the segmentation described above. In this model collective action requires both a level of ambiguity and conscious effort to maintain it and does not become institutionalised as it takes place across durable, salient institutional logics. As is illustrated in Figure 6.1 efforts to establish collective action across institutional logics either resulted in temporary periods of collective action across the actors or segmentation into smaller groups.

Figure 6.1 Process model of efforts to construct collective action in institutionally complex fields



After these conflicts where the distinctions between the goals, identities and strategies were framed as competing and the opposing logics framed often as wrongheaded, ambiguity was reduced and dividing lines became clearer, often resulting in segmentation into smaller groups, where actors expressed regret at not being able to align the resources of the field and certain actors who had expressed an interest in collaborating, became alienated from the issue due to the conflict and engaged in collective inaction.

The research findings provide an empirical illustration of the construction of collective action within the context of multiple institutions as developed by Lawrence et al. (1999), Phillips et al. (2000) and Hardy et al. (2005) and extends this analysis by outlining how institutional complexity influences these interactions. The actors in the fields studied were deeply influenced by the prevailing institutional logics but these did not always have a determining influence on actors and the purposeful efforts of actors to align different goals and identities embedded within different logics was important. This aligns with Hardy, Lawrence, & Grant's (2005) finding that collective action is both shaped by the extent to which it draws on external institutionalised discourses and the extent to which actors practice different styles of talk and therefore, collective action is precariously balanced and an on-going accomplishment. This dissertation extends the analysis of studying how institutional contexts influence collaboration carried out by Hardy et al., (2005), Hardy, Lawrence, & Phillips (1998), Hardy, Phillips, & Lawrence (2003), Hardy & Phillips (1998), Lawrence et al. (2002), Lawrence, Phillips, & Hardy, (1999) and Phillips et al. (2000) by drawing on the literature of multiple institutional logics to illustrate how constellations of goals, identities and action strategies embedded in logics provide the institutional context for collective action and illustrating how these logics constrain and enable the construction of collective action. The approach of building up to the institutional logics from the interpretations and frames of actors enables a more fragmented, detailed picture of how institutional logics influence actors to emerge. This more fragmented picture illustrates in particular how institutional complexity can be the source of both division and ambiguity in interactions focused on constructing collective action. By building up to the logics, the analysis does not miss the interpretations and frames, which fall between these logics. The findings of this research highlight that studying ambiguity is important to understanding how collective action is constructed in institutionally complex fields.

6.6 Analysis of the role and impact of the philanthropic foundation on efforts to construct collective action in institutionally complex settings

The Atlantic Philanthropies engaged in broadly similar actions in the Republic of Ireland and South Africa in terms of trying to build the organisational infrastructure by strengthening the core organisations, working on specific causes and trying to encourage collective action and integrated activity so that the individual organisations could collectively respond to the significant social challenges they faced. As is described in Chapter 4 and 5, in both fields the

strategic plans developed by the foundation referenced building the collective capacities of the fields. There were some common themes across the different fields in terms of how the foundation was perceived by the nonprofit actors and how the nonprofit and foundation staff in retrospect, interpreted the efforts to construct collective action across the five different cases.

6.6.1 The power to convene actors but not engineer collective action

The invitations to meetings to discuss the future of the fields were important in the sense that they brought the actors together and created an imperative to discuss the priority issues which the organisations would face going forward, the types of strategies they should collectively work on and how they should integrate their activities and make the best use of their limited resources. Atlantic started these discussions in both Ireland and South Africa by convening the actors to discuss strategy using a mixture of strategic and scenario planning techniques. In both locations the foundation was seen as an influential, central actor who had the capacity to bring together all of the actors into a room to discuss strategy. These collective discussions were instigated by foundation staff who often had a perception of the need for greater integration of capacities that existed across organisations and a belief that the goals and strategies of the organisations overlapped.

“We’re going out of business. Replacing the funding you’re getting from us is not a realistic option, so there needs to be some thinking about how is the sector going to be post Atlantic and that means that you need to be talking to each other about some sort of consolidation, strategic alliances, mergers whatever. But at least there needs to be a conversation.” (RO-ROI-F)

In both fields, this influence stemmed from the funding of the organisations and therefore Atlantic’s efforts to convene strategic discussions was viewed primarily through an organisational logic.

“No one, no one has an interest in being completely honest with what’s really going on in the sector or what’s really going on in the organisation. It’s all about how can we woo more money or how can we get more funding. We need to put our best foot forward and talk about how great the work is and not talk about our challenges and not talk about our internal challenges.” (LG-SA-NP).

The foundation was seen primarily as a means to access funding to promote and grow organisations. Although the foundation had the influence to get the actors into the room, it made little progress in either location in terms of facilitating the design of shared goals or action strategies across the field. In all of the cases studied, the institutional logics of the nonprofit actors provide a more helpful framework for understanding how and why actors

aligned collectively and segmented into subgroups than the objectives which the foundation set for itself in either field.

Although the nonprofit leaders did sometimes express a desire for the foundation to use its influence to bring greater strategic coherence to the fields, this was usually tempered by a desire not to have a donor led field. As is discussed above, whilst many actors were in favour of coherence it was usually on their own terms in the sense that they wished for greater coherence in line with their own framing of the priority goals and strategies of the fields. Many of the consultants who had helped facilitate the processes also wished that the foundation had provided greater clarity to the organisations on what was on or off the table in terms of options. They often struggled to try and bring alignment amongst leaders with very different frames of what the field should be prioritising and how they should work collectively.

“There was a circular thing going around and around and people were saying Atlantic set it up shouldn’t they should say what they want to get out of it and Atlantic said look we’re facilitating this discussion and this debate. You come and tell us.” (BA-ROI-C)

6.6.2 Ownership

In both countries the foundation staff felt that at times they were driving the initiative to create collective action and that this was an uncomfortable position for a funder to be in. There was a perception amongst the foundation staff that sometimes it was necessary for the foundation to act as a driver of collective action in the field, although many highlighted that in retrospect, this had resulted in a lack of ownership by the nonprofit leaders of funded initiatives. In the cases of the set-up and funding of the Older & Bolder initiative and Atlantic’s resourcing of the Joint Working Group, many of the nonprofit leaders believed that the increased resources had led to a reduction in the extent to which the leaders felt “invested” in ensuring the success of these initiatives.

“I do think too much money went in there without enough actual buy-in and I think it just let people off the hook.” (HK-ROI-NP)

In the cases of Older & Bolder and the Joint Working Group this led to some of the nonprofit leaders stepping back from these initiatives, not trying to work across these logics and assuming that the foundation owned the problem of bringing coherence to these efforts.

6.6.3 *Following rather than leading*

The areas where the foundation was perceived as having the greatest impact on constructing collective action were where it supported groups of organisations, where these organisations had already established some track record of working together, for example in the case of the gay marriage campaign and the Tri-Party Initiative. Whilst the foundation could bring disparate actors into the same room, attempts to construct collective visions or missions did not progress and the organisations themselves often took the initiative and segmented themselves into smaller groupings with actors with similar goals, strategies and collective identities. As one foundation staff member said contrasting the collective action in the ageing field with other initiatives that were led by grantee organisations that were passionate about a proposal

“That’s probably the missing link...we had really exciting people coming to us with really ground breaking propositions. And what we needed to do was give them the resources to get fantastic stuff done. You know the ageing space were just shaking in their shoes and just frozen at times and they didn’t have the ideas, they just wanted to continue with more of the same. They wanted core support to deliver the services that they were already delivering but they weren’t necessarily ground breaking.” (MF-ROI-F)

Segmentation such as the Tri-Party Initiative was an unintended consequence of bringing the wider fields together and the efforts of the foundation in both South Africa and Ireland were credited with bringing together actors who shared similar perspectives and who went on to work together but in more emergent ways than the foundation had originally planned. Where the foundation followed and resourced collective action that already had some momentum and which had been instigated by groups of nonprofit leaders, this tended to lead to more tentative, bounded co-operation. These actors aligned in sub-groups around shared, taken for granted goals, strategies and identities.

As was discussed in Chapter 2 the literature on the role of philanthropic foundations in constructing collective action in nonprofit fields is limited (Fleishman, 2009; Heydemann & Hammack, 2009). For some researchers, often from a strategic management perspective, foundations are central actors in nonprofit fields who have the capacity to wield determining, benign influence to align the various actors to address large-scale social challenges (e.g. Kania & Kramer, 2011; Porter & Kramer, 1999). Others, often drawing on social movement theory find that philanthropic foundations can have a conservative influence on social movements by supporting organisations that align with their own worldviews (e.g. Arnone,

1982). Other research suggests that nonprofit organisations have a level of capacity to resist the institutional logics of funders and to preserve their own logics (e.g. Aksartova, 2009; Binder, 2007; Swidler, 2009). The foundation in this study was able to convene the relevant actors and to channel support to organisations based on field-level strategies as suggested by Kania & Kramer, (2011) and Porter & Kramer (1999) but the influence of the foundation on collective action processes beyond this was limited.

The time-scale of the support by the Atlantic Philanthropies to the ageing field in Ireland and the LGBTI field in South Africa was over a far shorter-period than the international forestry certification field studied by Bartley (2007) or the art museum field studied by DiMaggio (1991) and therefore did not focus on the longer-term structuring influence of the support. That said, it would seem from the findings of this research and the earlier work of Bartley (2007) and DiMaggio (1991) that the structuring influence of foundations on fields is primarily wielded over longer periods where organisations are grown and sustained financially and gives rise to the institutionalisation of certain beliefs and practices. The short-term influence of foundations to lead meetings of nonprofit actors towards establishing collective action as recommended by Kania & Kramer (2011) and Porter & Kramer (1999) was largely absent.

Institutional complexity helps conceptualise the patterns of competing goals, collective identities and action strategies within fields and therefore helps explain why a common view or a unifying mission as per the strategic management perspective might be difficult for a foundation to instigate. More objectivist understandings the social value which nonprofit organisations produce encourage approaches to establishing collective action which emphasise functional alignment within fields to avoid duplication of costs and to maximise outcomes. Using more social constructionist approaches which focus on the different interpretations and frames of actors, shifts the analysis to an exploration of meaning as interpreted by actors. This enables an exploration of how deeply ingrained meanings can be the sources of division and ambiguity as well as alignment. Institutional theory helps illuminate how these beliefs and practices are taken for granted as social realities and also sources of passionate identification for some actors as found in this research and why

attempts to create strategic clarity can result in intense clashes and conflicts as discussed above.

There were two types of activities that the foundation supported which were interpreted by the foundation staff, nonprofit actors and consultants to be successful. The first was supporting temporary alignments across logics in the organisational fields that sought to bring about specific social change (e.g. gay marriage). The second was following the more bounded collective action amongst actors who shared similar institutional logics. These findings suggest that support for temporary interorganisational alignments across institutional logics and more bounded, self-organised collective action amongst individuals who have established that they can work together. “Field-building” work by foundations (Bernholz, Seale, & Wang, 2009), where the foundation play a leading role in brokering and institutionalising collective action however is very challenging in institutionally complex fields.

Whereas a resource dependency perspective would tend towards a more deterministic view of funders’ influence on organising (Smith & Lipsky, 1993), an approach which adopts institutional complexity as the main lens can accommodate the goals, identities and schema of promoting organisations as one logic amongst others. This highlights how a foundation can have influence in one realm (i.e. the organisational logic) but limited power in terms of aligning actors guided by other logics. This is similar to Hardy & Phillips' (1998) finding that organisations in nonprofit fields can exercise different forms of power based on perceived discursive legitimacy as well as material resources. The research findings suggest that foundations can “follow” interorganisational actors that have demonstrated a desire and a capacity to work together rather than trying to manage or leading the interactions of these actors over the shorter-term as suggested by Kania & Kramer, (2011) and Porter & Kramer, (1999).

This is an important finding for nonprofit sector practice as the “collective impact” concept developed by Kania & Kramer, (2011) is now widely discussed and promoted within philanthropic circles with little academically robust research to explore how foundations’ efforts to convene actors and provide leadership is perceived or the impacts it yields. As described in Chapter 2, this is part of a wider movement within the nonprofit sector and the

foundation sector in particular, to adopt in a taken for granted way the tools of strategic management (Blumenthal, 2003; Dart, 2004; Hwang & Powell, 2009; Maier & Meyer, 2011; Parsons & Broadbridge, 2004; Patrizi & Thompson, 2011).

The five cases therefore illustrate that in terms of collective action the foundation is interpreted primarily as a funder of organisations and that this inhibits the extent to which it can act as an instigator to align strategies amongst organisations. In some cases the more the foundation resourced initiatives designed to encourage collective action, the less the nonprofit leaders felt a sense of ownership over these initiatives or the imperative to work across institutional logics to make these initiatives a success. When bringing together actors from across the different logics into the room to discuss fundamental strategy, even where specially tailored facilitation techniques such as scenario planning were used, the events tended to focus on the divisions between the institutional logics and the imperatives of the organisational logic, of prioritising and growing your own organisation was very much in the background. The collective action which many foundation staff and nonprofit actors perceived as making progress was the more bounded collective action which the nonprofit actors themselves had instigated. This highlights that in terms of collective action, funders can act as convening agents but cannot broker or lead the collective action within nonprofit fields.

6.7 Summary of main empirical findings

This section provides an overview of the main findings from the empirical work of the dissertation. These are grouped into three sections 1) multiple institutional logics as experienced by actors 2) how multiple institutional logics influence collective action 3) how philanthropic foundations influence the construction of collective action in institutionally complex fields.

6.7.1 Institutional logics and their influence on actors

By studying the framing of actors within two nonprofit organisational fields this study inductively derived constellations of goals, identities and strategies. Two institutional logics were found in the Irish field and three in the South African field. The study finds that in terms of how actors experienced or were influenced by these logics, the logics when studied at the

level of the field provide helpful illustration of abstracted patterns around which actors adhered and these logics were useful for understanding how goals, strategies and collective identities tended to guide actions. Whilst some actors adhered closely to the goals, action strategies and identities of the logics in terms of how they framed collective problems and solutions, many others were less strict in their adherence and were influenced in more ambiguous ways by framing aspects of different goals, identities and strategies across multiple logics.

6.7.2 Institutional logics and their influence on efforts to construct collective action

As we have seen above, institutional logics provide the context within which interactions take place by culturally embedding sets of goals, collective identities and action strategies. Efforts to achieve strategic clarity and eliminate ambiguity often resulted in conflicting goals, identities and strategies coming to the fore and the field segmenting into smaller groups of actors as outlined above. Clear divisions between logics is often the product of previous interactions where the goals, identities and strategies of actors have been challenged and ambiguity has been reduced. This conflict between logics leads to segmentation into smaller subgroups of organisations within the field. This often resulted in significant sections of the field feeling alienated from the collective action and remaining outside these organising efforts, despite recognising the importance of this work. This alienation and subsequent collective inaction was a result of the conflicts where attempts were made to clarify specific goals and strategies and often to assert the superiority of one collective identity over another.

In other situations however multiple institutional logics yield a more fragmented influence and ambiguity surrounds aspects of the goals, identities and action strategies in terms of how actors interpret and frame the potential for collective action. Actors working to construct collective action can use this ambiguity creatively or at least the absence of conflict enables actors to tolerate more plurality in terms of logics. The collective action tended to be temporary temporary and did not become institutionalised or shift the prevailing logics significantly.

6.7.3 The influence of funders on efforts to construct collective action in institutionally complex fields

Even actors such as funders who controlled material resources, which the nonprofit actors wished to gain access to, have limited capacity to instigate the construction of collective action in institutionally complex fields. They were influential in convening diverse actors but they were unable to engineer collaboration, even when incentivising this through funding. The staff in the foundation studied in this dissertation perceived its greatest successes, on reflection, those occasions where they had followed the passion and commitment of the nonprofit actors and where they supported collective actions amongst smaller groups of actors rather than trying to broker alignment amongst wider groups. Whilst most foundation and nonprofit actors desired greater alignment of available resources within the field, on reflection after engaging in efforts to construct collective action this was seen as very challenging given the ingrained beliefs and practices within the fields.

Overall, the image of collective action in institutionally complex fields is a fragile one and in need of on-going construction to ensure that the collective action is seen as important or at least tolerated, despite the prevalence of competing logics. Where collective action did take place across institutional logics, it was temporary and often was followed by conflict and segmentation as actors sought greater clarity about shared goals and strategies which brought the different interpretations and frames into contention.

Chapter 7 - Conclusions

7.1 Contribution to understanding institutional complexity at the level of the individual

This dissertation provides an illustration of how institutional logics are culturally embedded patterns of shared goals, collective identities and action strategies that influence actors cognitively in terms of the priorities issues they perceive, the strategies they believe should be adopted to address these issues and how they perceive themselves and others. These goals, strategies and identities tend to group together into logics but the extent to which they are adhered to by individuals is a matter of degree. The dissertation makes a contribution to our understanding of how institutional complexity influences individuals by outlining how institutional logics are sources of enchantment, multiple attractions and ambiguity for actors.

7.1.1 Ideological enchantment

This dissertation demonstrates how institutionally complex settings can provide alternative, ideological sources of meaning to actors in line with (Friedland, 2009a, 2012a, 2012b) conception of logics. The novel contribution of this research is to illustrate that these divisions within fields can have profound impacts on how actors interpret goals and strategies at the level of the individual actor and that these different interpretations are sources of passionate identification for some actors and demonstrate how institutional logics embed distinct constellations of goals, strategies and identities.

7.1.2 Multiple attractions and ambiguity

The research also demonstrates how the influence of multiple institutional logics on actors' cognition is a matter of degree in institutionally complex settings. Whilst this is a common finding in recent research on institutional complexity, the novel contribution of this work is to illustrate that actors can be simultaneously attracted to aspects of different logics and that this has practical consequences. By inductively studying fields the research demonstrates that institutional logics are not necessarily rigidly partitioned into groups or carried by professionals. Adherence and identification is a matter of degree and individuals who are attracted to multiple logics need to be studied also. This builds on Martin's (1992) conception

of cultural fragmentation and draws it into the institutional logics literature for the first time. Whereas Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury (2012) drew on Swidler's (1986) conception of culture to highlight how institutional logics can be decomposed, this dissertation draws on Martin's (1992) fragmentation approach which reveals how institutional complexity can create ambiguity, as well as coherence and division.

7.2 Contribution to understanding implications of institutional complexity for the construction of collective action

In addition to increasing our understanding of how institutional complexity influences actors, the dissertation also makes a significant contribution to our understanding of how institutionally complex fields influence processes of constructing collective action. By drawing on the symbolic interactionist strand of collective action framing the dissertation illustrates how institutional logics influence actors as they debate and discuss priority problems to be addressed, strategies to address these problems and who should be mobilised in these efforts. The model of how collective action is constructed across multiple institutional logics is a novel contribution to our understanding of the practical consequences of institutional complexity. In particular the dissertation contributes to our understanding of the central role of ambiguity in these interactive processes as something, which is constructed, maintained and tolerated across logics.

7.2.1 Ambiguity enables temporary alignment across multiple institutional logics

The dissertation highlights the importance of ambiguity to the construction of collective action across different constellations of goals, action strategies and collective identities. Where actors expressed multiple attractions to institutional logics, there was greater scope for actors to align resources across institutionally complex fields. This involved efforts to avoid bringing potentially competing interpretations of goals and identities into contention, to allow flexibility in interpretations by different actors and to socially construct instead a shared common and proximate enemy. These processes were similar to the frame alignment processes described by Benford & Snow (2000) and Snow, Rochford Jr, Worden, & Benford (1986) but this research highlights the importance of maintaining different interpretations across multiple institutional logics. The alignments were found to be temporary as individuals

over time sought clarification of the direction and implications of the collective action and brought the different logics into contention. This finding makes an original contribution to our understanding of the role of ambiguity in the construction of collective action in institutionally complex settings and illustrates how individuals' reactions to institutional complexity can be less skilful and more tentative than the ambidexterity or institutional leadership conceptualised by previous authors.

7.2.2 *Clarity and conflict*

Efforts to achieve strategic clarity often brought the different interpretations embedded within the multiple logics into contention. This finding contributes significantly to our understanding of how efforts to achieve strategic clarity within institutionally complex fields bring actors into conflict. This conflict limits the room for flexibility around interpretations and instead actors often counter-frame against others' goals, action strategies and identities in ways that creates cognitive dissonance and sharpens the definition of the differences between logics. This eliminates the room for manoeuvre which is essential for the construction of collective action in the interstices of institutional logics. This finding makes an important contribution to our understanding of the role of conflict in reducing ambiguity and sharpening the divisions between the taken for granted interpretations of actors.

7.2.3 *Outcomes of attempts to construct collective across multiple institutional logics*

The research illustrates that actors did not, through their interactions, radically alter the institutional context in terms of the actual logics and the findings instead point to the challenges of institutionalising collective action across the interstices of institutional logics. The collective action which did take place was found to be an on-going accomplishment and temporary. Actors tended to segment after periods of conflict into groups with greater coherence in terms of the institutional logics to which the actors adhered. These subgroups tended to find it easier to align around overlapping goals and strategies and share compatible identities and the collective action tended not to threaten their organisations but were only subsets of the wider organisational fields that had identified the issue as important. The dissertation makes a novel contribution to our understanding of how institutional complexity can lead to *bounded collective action* amongst sub-groups and *collective inaction* on specific

issues amongst those actors who feel alienated from the collective efforts due to the preceding conflicts.

The major theoretical contribution of this dissertation is the development of a model showing how institutional complexity influences efforts to construct collective action based on the above concepts. The model is particularly appropriate for studies which explore fields where institutional logics provide more ideologically sources of enchantment as illustrated above, rather than as more malleable, action strategies or toolkits.

7.3 Contribution to philanthropic practice

The research also demonstrates the challenges of foundations engaging in efforts to institutionalise collective action within fields through “field-building” strategies. Whilst the dissertation finds that the foundation studied did have the capacity to convene a wide range of actors that were not interacting previously, and that these processes did have a substantial impact on the fields, the foundation did not have the capacity to lead or to broker collective action. Within these institutionally complex fields more progress was made where the foundation followed the collective initiatives of the nonprofit actors. The analysis suggests that foundations should not assume that their control over significant material resources gives them an objective power in the fields where they operate and that they should seek to understand the prevalent institutional logics in a field. The research also suggests that in the light of findings from other studies (e.g. Bartley, 2007; DiMaggio, 1991) that foundations primarily exert their influence on organisational fields through the selection of grantees over long periods of time (e.g. 20 to 30 years) rather than by leading or brokering interorganisational collective action over shorter periods. This finding regarding the limitations of foundations to instigate and broker collective action is original and timely. There is a lack of rigorous research on strategic philanthropy in fields but articles in the philanthropic practice literature, which exhort foundations to play these roles, are very topical and widely discussed.

7.4 Limitations

As a qualitative, inductive study of institutional logics the research is largely silent on the precise prevalence of institutional logics in the fields studied. There is little attempt made in

this study to develop objective measures of cultural artefacts and instead the research focuses on understanding how actors interpret and frame problems, solutions and efforts to mobilise actors and then to explore how these institutional logics influence interactions. This limits the relevance of the findings to informing the institutional research strand which draws on symbolic interactionism and more inductive approaches. The study has little to contribute to approaches, which adopt more objective conceptions of institutional logics and fields which attempt to measure the diffusion of institutional logics over time. The dissertation is silent for example on the precise extent to which multiple logics influence actors simultaneously and on levels of enchantment and ambiguity experienced by actors. Rather, the emphasis is on trying to understand how a relatively small group of actors experience institutional complexity and the implications this has for how they engage in collective action at a more grounded level.

The selection of two nonprofit fields as research sites also limits the wider application of the research findings. These fields were theoretically sampled as they seemed to be sites of multiple institutional logics, were not structured by professional groupings and attempts to construct collective action were taking place within them. Whilst this enabled the study of fields where multiple institutional logics are subject to contestation and are more “incoherent” (Schneiberg & Clemens, 2006) and “unsettled” (Swidler, 1986), the extent to which these fields are atypical and more or less structured than other fields is not explored within the research. Comparing and contrasting with other studies of institutional logics, this study is useful for understanding interactions influenced by ideological institutional logics or where the logics are less “compatible” (Besharov & Smith, 2014) but of little value to approaches which conceptualise logics as more toolkits or as more malleable cultural material to be fashioned by actors. Collective action in these situations is unlikely to be as fragile as was the case in this study as actors are less likely to be ideologically enchanted by the logics. In these situations it is far more likely that the outcomes of the interactive process would lead to the institutionalisation of new practices.

One of the major methodological limitations of the study was the challenge of gaining access to observe interactive meetings directly. Whilst meeting transcriptions, minutes and extensive memos and correspondence were made available for analysis, the study was limited by the inability to directly observe many of the key meetings and the research relied instead on

records and interviewee recollections. As Pettigrew (1990) argues, there is great value in studying processes within their contexts over time and the study would have benefited from contemporaneously studying these events and directly observing more of the interactions.

7.5 Recommendations for future research

There is a need within the institutional logics research to clarify the relationships between more fundamental logics with which actors make sense of their social reality and which embed their sense of collective identities on the one hand and those logics, which are less fundamental to how they see the world and themselves. As is outlined in Chapter 2, the institutional logics perspective is a broad tent but it would seem that there is value in distinguishing between the more ideological conceptions of institutional logics (e.g. Friedland, 2009) at one extreme and the more legitimacy enhancing tools which people strategically use to achieve objectives in more settled fields (McPherson & Sauder, 2013; Roy Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005). This dissertation shines a light on fields where institutional logics are more fundamental to how actors make sense of the world and who they are. As this research illustrates, the taken for grantedness of institutional logics or the degree of adherence has significant consequences for how collective action is constructed across these logics. There is a need for institutional theory to be clearer about how logics are conceptualised in terms of the degree of cognitive adherence and identification which is assumed within the concept and at what stage logics become trivial, malleable and plastic. In more ideological conceptions of logics, one would expect to see actors struggle to make sense of collective action and cognitive dissonance, as actors conflict as the logics are brought into contestation. In other situations where there was a common fundamental logic underpinning the interactions (e.g. a market or corporate logic) and where actors agree fundamentally what is at stake in terms of the problems they are attempting to address, one would expect to see actors being more able to engage in situated improvising (e.g. Smets, Morris, & Greenwood, 2012) or strategic use of logics (Roy Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005). There is a need for far greater exploration of the “more or less” aspect of taken for grantedness and for institutional theory to be clearer about the difference between logics which are easily managed and fused by actors and those logics which are fundamental to how actors make sense of the world. Recent research has started to explore more purposefully why certain logics are compatible and central in fields (e.g. Besharov & Smith, 2014) and why some actors accept or reject logics

(e.g. Pache & Santos, 2013) but there is still a lack of conceptual clarity in terms of whether more fundamental logics underpin the fusing of more superficial logics.

There is a need for far greater emphasis on researching ambiguity and to build theory from cases where actors struggle to manage the competing attractions of institutional logics. There is a need for greater understanding of the processes by which multiple institutional logics can simultaneously influence actors. Whereas much progress has been made on explicating a model of institutional logics at the level of the individual (Thornton et al., 2012) and there are nascent theories being built on how individuals juggle the competing demands of institutional logics (Jarzabkowski et al., 2013) and why individuals accept and/or reject logics (Pache & Santos, 2013), there is no research tradition exploring the messier middle ground where multiple logics influence individuals simultaneously in ways that create ambiguity. In terms of collective action, there is a need to explore the practical implications of institutional complexity and ambiguity. It would be interesting to compare successful and unsuccessful efforts to construct collective action across institutional logics and to develop theories about how collective action becomes cognitively institutionalised within fields in terms of the beliefs and practices of actors.

There is also a need for a greater level of understanding of the emotional processes involved in institutional enchantment and ambiguity. Whilst this study adopted a cognitive approach to institutions, there is an emerging interest in studying institutions and emotions draw on psychodynamic theory (Voronov & Vince, 2012).

7.6 Reflections on the research journey

As a past practitioner I became fascinated with institutional theory. It provided me with a theoretical framework for gaining insights into how actors understand the fields of activity in which they work and how this influences very practical issues relating to collective action. It is a challenging body of theory which has many similar, overlapping concepts and also many distinct research traditions within it. I found using texts on organisational theory such as Burrell & Morgan (1979) and Crotty (2009) useful for understanding why these differences had emerged within institutional theory. That said, new institutionalism in organisational

theory is also a research tradition that seems to have an ambivalent relationship to informing practitioners in fields. Many of the challenges which social activists encounter seem to relate to taken for granted beliefs and practices yet there is little concerted effort to engage in helping actors to become more reflexive on how institutions influence practice efforts. There have been some recent efforts to build more direct links to informing practice, often branded under the institution work tradition (Dover & Lawrence, 2010; Hargrave & Van De Ven, 2009; Marti & Mair, 2009). It would seem worthwhile exploring how the related nascent strand of institutional logics research which adopts an inductive approach to understanding logics can inform practice in fields by engaging in dialogue with practitioners on how these logics shape their interpretations and the implications of this.

The research journey has provided me with an opportunity to gain important insights into how actors within nonprofit fields interpret their work. I am very grateful for the access I was granted to their worlds and I intend to actively pursue publications based on the findings in this dissertation. Institutional complexity is a very active area of research. The role of foundations in instigating and facilitating collective action is highly topical in philanthropic circles, but with little research to guide practice. Findings from this dissertation will form the bases of publications to inform both theory and practice.

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Appendix 1 – Overview of the Atlantic Philanthropies

The Atlantic Philanthropies was founded in 1982 in Bermuda. It was created by Charles “Chuck” Feeney an Irish American businessman who is the sole donor and who is still active in the foundation’s activities. Mr. Feeney initially made his fortune by founding duty free shops and was one of the co-founders of Duty Free Shopping. The cash dividends from this enterprise were then re-invested in hotels, retail outlets and a range of investments through a private equity investment company. According to a biography by O’Clery (2007) entitled *The Billionaire Who Wasn’t: How Chuck Feeney Made and Gave Away a Fortune Without Anyone Knowing*, Chuck Feeney has no interest in the trappings of wealth and is notoriously frugal. He does not own a house or a car and lives in modest serviced apartments. He gifted 99.9% of his wealth to the foundation.

The mission of the foundation is to “bring about lasting change in lives of disadvantaged and vulnerable people”. The foundation is a “spend-down” foundation and is the largest foundation internationally to date to implement this type of limited life strategy of spending the endowment. Essentially this strategy enables the foundation to spend more on current issues rather than preserving the principal for perpetuity. The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation has taken a similar decision but over a much longer time frame and has yet to implement it. The Atlantic Philanthropies is at the final stages of this spend-down lifecycle and is currently negotiating its final rounds of grants. This process will be completed internationally by the beginning of 2017.

Between 1982 and 2001, the foundation gave money away anonymously mainly to higher education institutions based in the United States, Ireland, Australia, Viet Nam and South Africa but was also active in efforts to support the peace and reconciliation processes in Ireland and South Africa and gave relatively modest support to a range of social justice causes internationally as well. The grant-making did not have a formalised strategy. This pattern of grant-making broadly reflected the founder Chuck Feeney’s passion for higher education and the staff’s interest in a range of other issues. There were two main offices, one in New York and the other in Dublin but offices were also opened in London, Belfast, Hanoi, Johannesburg and Melbourne. The grant-making over this period led to Atlantic becoming the largest

private donor in the history of higher education in Ireland and Australia and the largest donor to Cornell University in the United States. Over this period grantee organisations and staff were required to sign non-disclosure agreements and the foundation did not publicly report any figures in terms of the size of its endowment or the levels of giving and was legally domiciled in Bermuda to facilitate this. Although in terms of annual giving, it was in the top ten largest foundations in the United States, the press rarely reported on the activities and the foundation adopted a very low profile.

In 2001, the foundation decided to dispense with anonymity and to disclose its work. A new President and CEO had been appointed who was given the mandate of reforming the programmes substantially. He had previously led the programmes outside of the United States and in particular, the board liked the system of annual strategic planning which had been experimented with in the Dublin office. As part of this process of reform the foundation entered a period of reflection on what it wanted to achieve and by when. By 2003 the foundation had developed a mission statement focusing the primary work of the foundation on social justice issues and had agreed to exit higher education as a programme area and to concentrate the resources of the foundation on four programme areas; Ageing, Children & Youth, Population Health and Reconciliation & Human Rights. The foundation also agreed to limit itself geographically to operating in the United States, Ireland, South Africa, Viet Nam, Australia and Cuba. It formally took a decision to be a “spend-down” foundation and agreed to make its final grants in 2016 and close its doors by 2020.

Atlantic adopted an annual process of developing strategies for each programme area in each country and externally evaluating progress of these clusters of grants. The practice literature on strategic philanthropy was widely circulated and discussed within the foundation. The Foundation Strategy Group, a consulting house co-founded by Michael Porter was commissioned to review and advise on Atlantic’s grant-making approach and Atlantic was the main initial funder of the Bridgespan Group, the largest strategy consulting house in the nonprofit sector in the United States which was founded by Tom Tierney, Chairman of Bain Consulting. The foundation was recognised within philanthropic circles as having made a conscious move towards strategic philanthropy and was subject of a McKinsey Quarterly article in September 2006. Within the majority of the large grants, significant consideration

was given to organisational development issues and field-building was a common theme in most of the programmes.

The grant-making staff were recruited in regions where they made grants and most had backgrounds in or prior knowledge of these fields. An in-house group of seven staff with evaluation, strategy and organisational development skills were recruited and referred to as the Strategic Learning & Evaluation team. The team worked internationally across the programmes and I was appointed as director of this team, from a role working primarily on the Irish programmes and worked in this role from 2004 until 2012. In 2010 the grant-making staff numbers approximately 60 staff out of a total complement of around 130.

In the period from 2004 to 2012, the foundation concentrated most of its resources on social justice causes across the programmes and countries, which it had selected. Mr. Feeney continued to provide philanthropic support for higher education institutions and bio-medical research under a separate programme, which was directed by him. The foundation became over this time one of the most prominent funders of progressive causes in the United States and was the largest source of philanthropic funding for advocacy causes such as immigration reform, anti-death penalty work and healthcare reform. In Ireland the main focus was on ageing, children and human rights work. In South Africa the main focus areas were human rights and population health. The two organisation fields selected as cases for this dissertation were subcomponents of wider grant-making programmes in the areas of ageing in Ireland and human rights in South Africa. Much of the grant-making in the fields internationally involved supporting groups of nonprofit organisations that were already involved in collective action in terms of coalitions and campaigns or trying to instigate collaboration between organisations that had not worked together previously.

Appendix 2 – The Interview Schedule

Introduction

Thank you for taking the time to talk with me. As you are aware I am undertaking a PhD in organisational theory at Trinity College Dublin and I am studying two organisational fields, one of which is the LGBTI field in South Africa/Ageing field in the Republic of Ireland. I am particularly interested in the processes that some organisations have been involved in discussing collective action across organisations and the future of their field and it is the main focus of my PhD.

This work is being carried out in a personal capacity. All of your interview transcript will be confidential to me and will not be shared with Atlantic and any quotes or comments will be used in a strictly non-attributable manner.

Background

- Q1 How did you first become active in the field of LGBTI/Ageing organisations?
- What were your first impressions of the fields of organisations?
- What has changed over the period since you become involved? Which people and organisations have been most influential in these changes?

The Organisational Field

- Q2 What are the priority issues in society which LGBTI/Ageing organisations need to collectively address? What are the underlying causes of these issues?
- Q3 Ideally, if you could have your wish what would the LGBTI/Ageing organisational field look like and how would it work? Collective structures/processes?
- Q4 What has been your involvement in the discussions about the future of this field?
 What do you think is at stake in these discussions? What is your opinion of how the

way in which these discussions have been organised? How would you characterise the different positions and how have they been expressed? How have people tried to influence others? Agreements? Disagreements?

Previous Efforts to Construct Collective Action

- Q5 Can you describe an important issue which arose for the field? How it was discussed? What collective action was taken?
- Q6 Which people and/or organisations in your opinion have been most influential in terms of the outcomes and why?
- Q7 What is your opinion of the decisions reached? To what extent have relationships and shared understandings been generated? To what extent have divisions been generated?

The Role of the Foundation

- Q8 How would you describe Atlantic's role in the efforts? How would you characterise Atlantic's impact?

Conclusion

- Q9 Is there anything that I've missed that I should have included?
- Q10 Are there others who you think I should talk with?

Many thanks for your time and if anything else occurs to you please don't hesitate to get in touch.

Appendix 3 - Confidentiality Agreement and Interview Consent Form

Background

This interview is part of research undertaken by John A. Healy, a PhD candidate at the Centre for Nonprofit Management in the School of Business at Trinity College Dublin, supervised by Prof Gemma Donnelly-Cox. John is focusing his research on how individuals within fields discuss and debate interorganisational change. The primary purpose of the research is to inform the writing of a thesis to fulfil the requirements of a PhD. The student will also pursue publications based on this research. Please read the following statements of confidentiality protocol and if you are willing to be interviewed, please indicate your consent by signing below. Thank you for taking the time to participate.

Confidentiality Protocol

The identity of each participant and the interview recording and transcript provided by each participant will remain strictly confidential to the researcher. No quotes or statements will be attributed to any particular individual. Electronic copies of data will be stored in password-protected encrypted files in password-protected computers according to the Irish Data Protection Commissioner guidelines, with access restricted to the researcher. No named individual participants will be linked to any of the published findings, nor their identities disclosed.

Declaration:

I have read the confidentiality protocol and I understand the contents. I freely and voluntarily agree to be interviewed. I have received a copy of this agreement.

Participant’s Name:

Contact Details:

Signature: Date:

Statement of interviewer’s responsibility: I believe that the participant has read and understood the confidentiality protocol and has freely given informed consent to this interview.

Interviewer’s Name:

Contact Details: healyj3@tcd.ie Interviewer’s advisor: gdnnllyc@tcd.ie

Interviewer’s Signature: Date:.....